

*Birdsey*

The Department of State

# bulletin

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## The Pattern of Leadership—A Pattern of Responsibility

*Address by Secretary Acheson<sup>1</sup>*

This Nation has given the world renewed proof of the almost unbelievable vitality and capacity of the American economy. Since Korea, we have multiplied by more than six times our production of what the military call "hard goods"—tanks, aircraft, ammunition, weapons, and other items—for ourselves and to help our friends and allies.

This powerful flow of production builds muscle on the right arm of peace. And so you rightly want to see this instrument for peace used wisely and well.

In a broader sense, all labor has a direct and immediate stake in the defense of the free world—not only American labor, but free trade-unions wherever they exist. For free unionism is a basic element in democratic society; and it is only in a free society that free unions can survive and flourish. Both are aspects of liberty.

### Plight of Labor in the Soviet World

The Communists have pretended to a great concern for the cause of labor—particularly outside the Soviet world. But behind the Iron Curtain, trade-unions have been reduced to mere organs of the state, whose prime function it is to discipline the workers and speed up their work.

The Soviets say they have large trade-unions, and every now and then they announce a new collective-bargaining contract. But what is collective bargaining under the Soviet regime? The Communist Party workers who are assigned as union officers ask permission for their fellow workers to do more work for less pay. Other Party workers, who serve as Government officials, think this is a fine deal, and a so-called "collective-bargaining" agreement is announced.

No one has exposed this fraud better than your own international president. In rejecting an invitation to the Moscow Economic Conference, Mr. Hayes wrote:

<sup>1</sup> Made before the National Convention of the International Association of Machinists at Kansas City, Mo., on Sept. 11 and released to the press (No. 717) on the same date.

Our union has nothing in common with representatives of labor fronts created by or captured by Communist parties in Russian-controlled countries and used solely for the purpose of exploiting the workers through repressive legislation and labor conditions which no self-respecting American union member would ever tolerate.

A tragic illustration of the stake free unions have in the defense of freedom is the perversion of the unions of Czechoslovakia when the Communists took over. The Czech workers had living standards among the highest in Europe. By the time the Communists finished what they called "improving the workers' lot," the Czechs found themselves barely eking out a living and working longer hours to do it.

The unions became instruments for passing along to the workers pressures from Moscow. In the Communist vocabulary, this was called "selfless brotherly assistance."

Czech workers have lost the right to strike. They have lost even more—freedom to change jobs, freedom to move.

The machinists in Prague have come to know the "workbook", held by the employer to keep workers from changing jobs without permission. Without a "workbook", you don't eat and you don't have a place to live.

This "worker's paradise" in the heart of Europe is a grim reminder to free unions everywhere of their stake in the defense of freedom.

American labor knows this and has done its part both directly and through making fine men available to the Government at home and in many critical posts abroad. And American labor knows, too, as do some of the rest of us, that this brings down upon it the vitriolic flood of Communist denunciation.

*Trud*, the Soviet labor newspaper, complained that "trade-union agents of the State Department and of the American Federation of Labor are following one another across the ocean to Europe to carry out the special orders of the American imperialists."

And *Pravda* explained to its readers that "there

is no base action in the world to which the trade-union terrorists in the AF of L and the CIO would not turn their hand."

### Soviet Hate Campaign

So I welcome you to the honorable fellowship of those who have earned their denunciation by the enemies of freedom.

Recently, Soviet propaganda has taken a broader and more ominous turn. In the past, it had been directed against Western institutions and against the leadership of the Western nations. The line was: "The American people are all right. Their economic system is no good. Their leaders are imperialistic warmongers. But the American people are peaceful and they won't follow the warmongers."

But since January a year ago, there has been a new development. Now, the American people themselves are pictured as bestial, cruel, vicious, ruthless. In language which exceeds in violence that directed against the Nazis at the height of the war, the Soviet Union is now seeking systematically and methodically to arouse hatred against the American people.

Every aspect of American life is included in this torrent of slander. The American labor movement, American business, our young people, our newspapers, our artists, our amusements, our participation in the United Nations, and above all, our armed forces—all these have been the subject of wild vilification.

Vicious Soviet propaganda is not new, but this campaign, as I said, has a new and more evil twist: it is an attempt to poison the minds of an entire generation in one of the world's great countries against the people and the civilization of another great country. This is a criminal act.

This campaign was launched in January 1951 by a major spokesman in the presence of Stalin, Molotov, and other members of the Politburo. At once, a flood of books, articles, speeches, and other propaganda poured out across the country.

So far, the Soviets have used three themes in this campaign.

The first theme selected accused American troops of the most horrible crimes against the Soviet people at the end of World War I.

The fact that these spectacular crimes were totally unheard of for over 30 years was no impediment.

Hardly a day passes when a Soviet citizen, wherever he may live, can escape hearing or reading accounts—including so-called "eye-witness" accounts documented with fake photographs—of the bestiality of Americans and their blood-thirsty conduct.

A newspaper published in Vilna, to take one example, says: "America is a horrible beast that eats people alive. Anglo-American warmongers are base murderers and bloody cannibals. . . ."

"Never forget and never forgive"—that is the theme Soviet propagandists are trying to hammer into the consciousness of the Russian people in an effort to twist their whole outlook.

These stories were followed by a second theme: the "Korean atrocity" stories. The riots started by the Communist prisoners on Koje Island were, of course, grist to this mill.

Finally, came the third and biggest theme: charges that the United States had resorted to germ and chemical warfare in Korea. This is one of the grossest falsehoods in history. The Soviet Union has turned down every single proposal for an impartial investigation of these charges or for assistance to combat the epidemics, if any. This is a Soviet double-duty theme; it is used to feed the atrocity campaign to the Soviet people, and also the anti-American propaganda to the world, and particularly to the Far East.

This germ-war propaganda campaign was plainly prepared well in advance. One of the Soviet publications jumped the gun and published a cartoon in which I was shown with a germ-war cannister on my back. This was several months before the germ-war charge was launched. The mistake was quickly caught and the germ container disappeared in later editions. I suppose the editor did too.

Whatever else may happen under the new Soviet Five Year Plan, I am sure the Soviet Union will be able to announce it has overfulfilled its quotas of falsehood.

It is worthy of note that while the Soviet Government inside the Iron Curtain presses this hate campaign with unparalleled violence, that same Government, outside the Iron Curtain, blandly denies that it is going on. In a publication which circulates outside the Curtain, the Soviet propagandists denied the report of this campaign, and said:

The truth is that there are no such facts. The Soviet State is educating its citizens in the spirit of respect of other peoples and in the spirit of peaceful cooperation. The Soviet way of life is such as to leave no place for hostile propaganda or for hatred of peoples of other countries.

Compare this statement with the following, from the *Small Soviet Encyclopedia*:

Soviet patriotism is indissolubly connected with hatred toward the enemies of the Socialist Fatherland. "It is impossible to conquer the enemy without having learned to hate him with all the might of one's soul. . . . . The teaching of hatred toward the enemies of the toilers enriches the conception of Socialistic humanism by distinguishing it from sugary and hypocritical 'philanthropy.'

We do not have time this evening to talk further about the meaning of this wicked and reckless course, but two points must be clear to us.

One is that this campaign to stir up hatred contradicts those Soviet pretensions of peace and pushes off still further a beginning upon the peaceful settlement by negotiation of problems between the Soviet Union and the outside world.

The second point that must be clear to us is that

we must continue, not deflected by anger or impatience, to insure that the free world remains free, that peace is preserved, and that all the while we are increasing the factors of strength which will shape events in our favor.

For a fundamental fact of these times is that, regardless of what tactics the Politburo happens to be following currently, hostility against the rest of the world underlies all that it does.

That is why I have gone into this matter of the Soviet hate campaign. This current Soviet tactic toward their own people casts an illuminating light on the fundamental hostility which is the concrete reality we must start with in thinking about foreign policy today.

#### A Military Shield for Free Nations

And unless this fundamental hostility is held in check by adequate and united strength among the free nations, they live in danger.

The primary purpose of this strength is to prevent war. We have labored year in and year out to make this peaceful purpose clear.

But apart from words, which those who are strangers to truth may not believe, it must be plain from the very size and composition of the forces and defenses now being created in Europe that they are designed for defense and not for aggression.

What we have been doing is to build a military shield, behind which the economic and the political and the social strength of the free nations is being built up.

This military shield must be such that it can both prevent the vast aggression of a general war and also be able to prevent or to deal with the aggressions which seek the piecemeal conquest of the free nations.

I stress this point in order to bring out the fallacy of relying solely on retaliatory striking power. For if, in dealing with the threat of piecemeal aggression around the world, our only choice is to respond with total war, or to do nothing, then we run the risk of having the foundations of our strength washed out from under us, or of finding ourselves plunged into general war. That is why the staunch defense of Korea was absolutely essential both to our whole position and to all our efforts to prevent a catastrophic total war from sweeping the earth. The existence of this kind of strength and this determination will help to prevent further piecemeal aggression.

It is not, of course, only a military threat we have to deal with, for the Soviets place great emphasis on the possibility of political and economic disintegration, in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, and especially among the former colonial territories.

From the writings of Lenin down to the latest issue of *Pravda*, the Communists have been licking their chops over the expected collapse of the non-

Soviet world. They are betting heavily that there will not be solutions for such matters as the financial and economic problems of Western Europe, unrest throughout the Middle East, the trade problems of Japan, the difficulties faced by newly independent nations, and the problems involved in colonial relationships.

These are what the Communists regard as pay-dirt. They hope and believe the free nations will fail to resolve these and other problems; that then disintegration will occur, and the United States would find itself isolated and weakened. Our alliances, they think, would be undermined, our trade with the world cut off, our influence and our power diminished. This is the course of events for which they hope and which Communist doctrine teaches them to expect. Then, they think, they would have the world by the tail on a down-hill pull. But the Communist rulers are living on a vain hope—vain because, again, they underestimate the rest of us. The free world has the will; it has the resources—spiritual and material—to meet and surmount these difficulties, to out-produce the best the Communist world has to offer, to outlast the Communist system of tyranny.

#### Confidence Justified by Constructive Steps

True, we face problems of great difficulty, great complexity. Most of these problems have their roots in the aspirations of people for freedom and a better life. It is the very power and force of this basic human drive which creates these problems.

That being so, how much more colossal are the problems of the Soviet regime, which not only has to hold its own people in tyranny but to administer a rule of iron over an oppressed and enslaved empire?

The surge of the human spirit toward liberty may, for a time, be suppressed by a ruthless tyranny, but just as surely as a tree will push its way up through solid rock, the human spirit will some day break through to the light of day.

This is our faith, this is what all our efforts are about. The great final strength of our cause is that it is the cause of human liberty, the cause of freedom for the spirit of man, and we believe with every fiber of our being that this cause is as much a part of the universe as man himself, and that it will not and cannot be denied.

Our confidence is justified by the great strides of progress we have been witnessing in the free world. Fragmented by the war, the free world has been pulling itself together into new patterns of confidence, of unity, and of strength. Resurgent vitality among the free nations is creating new and imaginative solutions for age-old conflicts.

We have taken the lead in developing security arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations. In Europe, this has led from the recov-

ery program under the Marshall Plan to the development toward self-confidence and unity under the North Atlantic Treaty and our military and economic aid programs. Not only has the Soviet Union been denied control over Europe's industrial plant, but Europe has responded to this threat with such bold and unprecedented measures as the Schuman Plan to unite Europe's coal and steel production, and the European Defense Community, through which Free Germany can return to the family of nations.

In Greece and Turkey a once-vulnerable flank has been converted into a position of strength.

In the Western Hemisphere, ties of security and of friendship have been strengthened by the Rio Pact of 1947 and by our programs of technical cooperation.

A great broad crescent stretches from western Africa, through the Middle East, Pakistan, India, Southeast Asia, and north to Formosa, Korea, and Japan. Here, building the structure of security has meant dealing with all aspects of Communist imperialism. Force has been met with force, not only in Korea, but in Indochina, Malaya, and the Philippines. Formosa has been shielded against Communist aggression.

A series of security arrangements has been established with the new Japan, with the Philippines, with Australia, and New Zealand.

Throughout this area, our Point Four and other economic-aid programs have been helping newly independent nations establish the foundations of economic and political progress. We have recognized that much of this area is in a process of ferment and of change. We have sought to help channel these powerful forces into constructive, peaceful, and orderly processes which will genuinely realize the aspirations of these peoples for self-government and a better life.

#### **Continued Effort Necessary**

In all these ways, and in the progress of our massive defense program here in the United States, we have been building strength that will not only reduce the danger under which we live but will also put a wholly different aspect on our relations with the Soviet Union and on all our problems.

To remove from the Soviet rulers the temptation to gain their goals by military action, to make clear that there will be no collapse of free nations, that nations newly come to freedom are destined for vigorous and progressive life—all this will aid powerfully in the approach to questions that now block the way to a more durable and stable peace.

This will take time. It will take not less but more effort. It means a continuation of the determined and responsible course of working our way through the present period of danger. It takes hard work, steady nerves, enduring courage.

But it is the course best calculated to bridge our present dangers. We cannot walk through the

dangers of the present on a bridge of glittering adjectives.

Our discussions of foreign policy can be healthy and constructive if they grapple with real issues in a responsible way. They are not helpful if they do not get down to concrete situations.

It is fine, for example, to want to be "dynamic", "positive" and "affirmative", but what does this mean in terms of support for the Point Four Program, for programs to aid the economic development of our friends and allies, for shipments of grain to our friends in India?

It is fine to be in favor of international trade, but what does this mean when it comes to stopping the imports which enable our allies to earn dollars to pay for what they need?

It is fine to be for collective security, but what does this mean when it comes to doing our part in the NATO army, or when it comes to facing the blood, sweat and tears involved in the defense of that very collective security in Korea?

It is fine to be in favor of spreading the truth, but what does this mean when it comes to funds for the Voice of America?

It is something of a new experience to be urged to be more positive, dynamic, and bold by many whose chief contribution until now has been in holding back. They have their hands on the horn and their feet on the brakes.

Our coattails are ragged from the hands of those who thought that we showed too much of all these "dynamic" qualities when the President shuddered the burden of saving the Middle East in the Greek-Turkish program in early 1947, and when the Marshall Plan was developed later in the same year. There were no cries that we were too negative when the Berlin airlift was put on in 1948, or the Atlantic Treaty signed in the next year, or the Point Four Program put forward. The only negative attitude on Point Four, and on material aid for Korea and Far Eastern countries outside Point Four, came when we asked for the authority and the funds to do these things. The legislative record is worth study.

The proposal for the unified NATO army and command, which General Eisenhower served so well, was not called negative; on the contrary, it produced the Great Debate about whether it was too positive, too dynamic.

I remember with particular vividness June 1950, when the President, in one of the gravest decisions any President has had to make, faced squarely up to the armed attack on Korea and assumed, under the United Nations, the major burdens of meeting it. It was greeted then, and is not responsibly challenged now, as right and courageous.

We have heard some harsh things said about "containment". We have heard that it is negative, immoral, and futile, and that we should give it up and do something else that isn't containment.

Now, let's understand what we are discussing. It is not whether the word containment is or is not

a good short-hand description of what we have been doing and propose that we continue. Personally I don't happen to think that it is an adequate description.

The question is whether what we have done and propose to do is right—whether there are better alternatives. Not better words, but better concrete, specific acts with which to meet concrete specific problems.

Are there better ways to stop Soviet expansion without a catastrophic war, and to work our way through this period of grave danger? Are there better ways to increase the power of the free world—to unite its power—to solve the questions which were holding it back, dividing it, weakening it? Are there better ways to tip the balance in favor of the outcomes we seek, to create a new world environment in which we move confidently and peacefully to an adjustment of problems not now soluble?

If we really wish to discuss the true issues which lie behind the word "containment", these are the issues.

If the question is not just one of words, but of alternative courses of action, then the question is whether we should continue our efforts to hold in check further Soviet expansion—and I take it there is no real disagreement on this point—or whether we should be doing something more than this, something—and the adjective is usually—"dynamic", "positive" or "affirmative."

Now I think it is apparent, even from our brief review this evening, that our efforts do go beyond what is ordinarily described as "containment". Behind the military shield, we are carrying on all the measures I have been describing, to increase the vitality, the unity, the political and economic strength of the free nations. We believe, as anyone must who shares the democratic faith, that free societies can and will be more durable, and that ultimately they must exercise a strong attraction that will shift the balance in our favor.

But if through impatience or imprudence, we are urged to try to bring this shift about by force, if we are urged to seek the "liberation" of territories or peoples by force, this advice would be neither realistic nor responsible. If this is what is meant by being more "positive", then it is in fact a positive prescription for disaster.

Our position of leadership in the world calls for responsibility, not only by officials, but by all of us. It requires that we take no narrow view of our interests but that we conceive them in a broad and understanding way so that they include the interests of those joined with us in the defense of freedom. It requires that we do not do reckless things which impair these interests. We cannot dictate, we cannot be irresponsible, if we are to fulfill the mission of leadership among free peoples. The pattern of leadership is a pattern of responsibility.

Serious and responsible discussion of the problems before us is essential. No one has a monopoly of wisdom; no one among us is free from error.

But the American people know that there is no easy short cut through the difficult times ahead of us. They are determined; they are in earnest. They will do what needs to be done. They will do it as long as may be necessary and do it without self-deception and without recklessness.

And that, sooner or later, will bring to pass the triumph of freedom.

## **Supplementary Tax Convention With Belgium**

Press release 708 dated September 9

On September 9 Secretary Acheson and the Belgian Ambassador in Washington signed a convention between the United States and Belgium modifying and supplementing the convention of October 28, 1948, for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income.

The convention of 1948 is pending in the Senate (S. Ex. I, 81st Cong., 1st sess.).

The modifications made by the supplementary convention to the convention of 1948 include (a) the addition in article IV of a provision for allowance, as deductions, of all expenses reasonably allocable to the permanent establishment in the determination of net industrial and commercial profits allocable to such establishment; (b) the substitution of an amended article VIII relating to reduction of tax with respect to dividends, so as to accord benefits analogous to those accorded in existing tax conventions of the United States with the United Kingdom, Denmark, the Netherlands, and certain other countries; (c) the insertion of a new article VIIIA relating to the reciprocal reduction of tax with respect to interest on bonds, notes, debentures, or any other form of indebtedness; (d) the amendment of article XII (3) (a) so as to increase from one-fourth to one-fifth the reduction with respect to Belgian professional tax and Belgian national crisis tax affecting taxable income from sources within and taxed by the United States; and (e) the substitution of an amended article XVII so as to bring the provisions regarding assistance in collection of taxes into harmony with the policy expressed by the Senate in 1951 in its consideration of then pending tax conventions.

The supplementary convention will be transmitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. By its terms the supplementary convention will be regarded as an integral part of the convention of 1948. The convention of 1948 and the supplementary convention will enter into force upon the exchange of instruments of ratification.

## Forced Labor in the Soviet Union

*The following are chapters I and II of a report prepared by the United States Information Service of the Department of State for distribution overseas. In view of the importance of the subject, the report is also being given limited distribution within the United States to acquaint the American public with the story of conditions within the Soviet sphere.<sup>1</sup>*

Forced labor has been almost from the time of the October Revolution a constant characteristic of Soviet society. In seizing power the Bolsheviks were ambitious to destroy the old elite and the old institutions and to create a new society with institutions more to their liking. Use of forced labor was related to both ambitions, since it could be used to dispose of undesirable persons and perform some of the work needed to create a new society. In the first decade of rule the new Communist elite turned this weapon principally against the dispossessed elite lingering on from the former regime. In the succeeding period of construction of Stalinist socialism the rulers exploited forced labor principally groups which the regime claimed to represent, the workers, peasants, and the new intelligentsia.

The repression, including forced labor, introduced by the Red Terror in 1918—even if in response to opposition violence—exceeded in scale anything which had been known in Tsarist Russia. Nevertheless, the propagandists employed by Party and Government claimed that this was a temporary phenomenon which would disappear with the liquidation of opposing classes and the

achievement of socialism. In fact, however, the opposite occurred. Use of forced labor against the remnants of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was as nothing compared to the use of forced labor later against the groups supposedly allied with the Bolsheviks.

Forced labor took on mass dimensions after 1929 when ambitions of the ruling group collided with desires of the masses. The elite wanted to preserve and to extend its power. It was ambitious to increase rapidly and at all costs the power and resources within the grasp of the Soviet state while eliminating opposition to its policies within and without the ranks of the Communist Party. The peoples of the U. S. S. R. wanted the better life they had been promised, in particular release from tyrannical rule and an increase of their material well-being. The regime sought to increase industrial output quickly, especially in heavy industry, and to secure control of agricultural output. A policy of mass deprivation and mass expropriation followed. The resistance engendered by this policy provided great numbers of candidates for repression. Beyond any repression of dissidents, the regime used wholesale forced labor as a weapon against entire economic and ethnic groups which the rulers decided to destroy. The Soviet leaders sought to derive maximum economic benefit from these victims by organizing their labor power to serve the economic program of the state.

The Soviet Government was unwilling to employ economic incentives potent enough to attract sufficient free labor to the undeveloped areas of the Soviet Union, areas thinly populated and difficult to exploit. Consequently, the Government concentrated the largest masses of forced laborers in the remote areas of Siberia, Central Asia, and the Far North. Not all persons subjected to forced labor in confinement were sent to these

<sup>1</sup> *Forced Labor in the Soviet Union*, Department of State publication 4716. Among the sources of the report are materials which the U. S. Government turned over to the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labor; for a statement on these materials by Walter M. Kotschnig, Deputy U.S. Representative in the U.N. Economic and Social Council, see BULLETIN of July 14, 1952, p. 70.

distant camps, however. Many camps and colonies were located in and near the well-populated areas. Especially for "short-timers" the nearer camps could, with little waste of time and transportation facilities, usefully supplement the supply of free labor in various parts of the U. S. S. R. In addition, they served as an everyday reminder to the people of the need for conformity.

#### Degrees of Involuntary Labor

In a society as tightly controlled as the Soviet Union it may be asked if there is a valid distinction between forced labor and free. Much coercion is embodied in the relationship between the all-powerful Soviet state and the individual employee. A different kind of coercion finds expression in the relationship between the state and the farmer.

Compulsion or coercion of labor takes various forms. (1) Youths, often from farms, are drafted for training in labor reserve schools and bound afterwards, like graduates of higher schools, to work for 3 or 4 years on assigned jobs. (2) Workers may not leave jobs without permission, and contrariwise, certain qualified workers may be sent on obligatory assignment to other jobs in other localities. (3) Farmers are required to work a certain number of days each year in repairing roads and the like. This survival of the medieval *corvée* system has disappeared in most European countries but not in the U. S. S. R. (4) For infringement of certain rules workers may be sentenced to a type of involuntary labor with reduction of 25 percent in wages, but they remain either at their normal place of employment, or at least outside the barbed-wire enclaves. (5) Workers, peasants, and intellectuals may be exiled to remote places inside the U. S. S. R. where working opportunities are limited to a single factory or mine. Such exiles become in effect forced laborers. (6) If not exiled to a specific place, Soviet citizens may be banished from their home towns and forced to find residence and work elsewhere. Although all of these relationships involve a degree of compulsion sufficient to merit a description as forced labor, they are not of primary concern in the following text. They are discussed only as they bear upon forced labor proper.

Forced labor is a punishment meted out to those who have offended the powers that be or are considered as potential offenders. Forced laborers are persons confined for political or economic reasons in prisons, labor colonies, or concentration

camps (in present-day Soviet terminology, corrective-labor camps) and compelled to work in or near the place of confinement.

Included in the great number of forced laborers are both those sentenced by courts through regular or special courts and those sentenced by administrative order. These groups are not treated separately in the present text for the simple reason that the Soviet authorities lump them together in forced labor camps. Certain distinguishing characteristics should be noted, however. Investigation of such "crimes" as those listed in article 58 of the Soviet criminal codes is in the hands of the Ministry of State Security (MGB), an offshoot of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD). The most important component of the MGB is the so-called political police, which has existed almost from the beginning of the Soviet regime and is the bearer of the "glorious tradition," to use a phrase from Soviet propaganda, of the Cheka, the OGPU, and the NKVD. The political police can decide after completing an investigation whether or not the suspect should be turned over to the courts for prosecution. If the decision is against court prosecution, the police agencies can then, without even the semblance of a trial, sentence the victim by administrative fiat to a 5-year term at forced labor. If the decision is to prosecute in court, no great uncertainty arises as to the danger of the victim's being released. Judges are sufficiently well indoctrinated politically; the defendants' protections are weak; and procedures are so adjusted that a verdict of guilty can be expected. Then the victim once more enters the grasp of the political police, who administer the entire system of forced labor.

#### Soviet Acknowledgments of the Forced Labor System

Although a wealth of material has been accumulated describing the operations of the forced labor camps in the U. S. S. R., many facts are still not known. The gaps in outside knowledge of the Soviet labor camps relate particularly to current developments. Some of these facts will in all probability not become known, at least in the near future. The Soviet passion for concealment and secrecy extends even to data and observations regarding routine events and processes; it would be highly surprising if secretiveness did not extend to the forced labor system, a characteristic of Soviet society which goes against the grain not only of

the world's conscience but also of the Soviet leaders' own apologia.

Despite Soviet secretiveness about the nature and extent of forced labor in the U. S. S. R., much evidence regarding the system has been accumulated from Soviet documents. These documents are of several types. (1) Laws defining forced labor, establishing regimes in forced labor camps, and authorizing confinement by administrative measures without trial have been published. Although none of these is of more recent vintage than 1934, current Soviet legal publications make it clear that they are still in force. (2) When the Soviet authorities were in a mood to boast of their claimed success in reforming errant citizens through forced labor, they published material hinting at the extent to which forced labor was involved in certain construction projects, such as the canal projects. (3) Fortunately, because disclosure was not intended by Soviet authors, the publication of a detailed Plan for 1941 disclosed the part played by forced labor in the economic life of the country on the eve of World War II. (4) Official Soviet documents given to Polish citizens upon their release early in the war from forced labor camps confirm evidence from other sources regarding the existence of literally hundreds of different camps.

#### Eyewitness Accounts of Soviet Forced Labor

Before World War II forced labor in the U. S. S. R. had already assumed enormous proportions. Because of Soviet censorship and tight border controls there were few witnesses who were in a position to testify to the human consequences of the system. The war changed all this. Vast dislocations of population affected Russians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijani, and other nationalities of the Soviet Union, as well as Polish citizens, former residents of the Baltic States, and, of course, Germans. Many of the Soviet citizens who had been abroad refused to return at the war's end, choosing the uncertainties of life in other countries in preference to the cruel certainties of life under a concentration-camp regime. They were justly apprehensive of Soviet measures of "re-education" following their stay abroad. This "re-education" did in fact include large doses of forced labor.

Among the displaced persons were many who had served terms in Soviet labor camps. They

had a story to tell which vividly portrayed conditions in forced labor camps up to the war. Poles who had experienced similar conditions in the early years of the war brought the story more nearly up to date when their testimony was made available, as in the notable book entitled *Dark Side of the Moon*.

The reconsolidation of Soviet authority has now dried up the main stream of eyewitness accounts. Nevertheless, enough Germans (ex-PW's sentenced to forced labor camps) have managed to leave the U. S. S. R. recently to show that the forced labor system continues to operate in the postwar years in the same old way.

#### Estimates of Size of Forced Labor Group

Neither reticent Soviet references to the forced labor system nor survivors' accounts offer a means of estimating the number of forced laborers. To fill this gap various students of Soviet affairs have attempted to estimate, on the basis of various statistics, the forced labor population. It is natural that these estimates should vary widely, but part of the discrepancies results from differences not only in the period considered but also in the definition of the group to be estimated. The definition may include—in addition to the basic group of inmates of "corrective labor" camps—forced laborers interned in colonies, exiles, persons punished by forced labor at their place of work, and prisoners-of-war.

Dallin and Nikolaevsky in their book, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*,<sup>1</sup> pass review on various estimates of the number of prisoners running up to 20 million persons and even higher. Their own guess ranges from 8 to 12 million forced laborers.

In 1948, N. S. Timasheff computed the number of forced laborers in 1937.<sup>2</sup> He based his estimate on the election returns of that year. Calculating that the population on January 1, 1938, was 167 million, Timasheff estimated that adults of more than 18 years constituted about 58 percent of this total. Since only 56 percent of the population, or 94 million, registered for the 1937 election, Timasheff concluded that 3.3 million missing adults had been deprived of electoral rights. Of these a certain number, possibly one million, were either

<sup>1</sup> David Dallin and B. I. Nikolaevsky (New Haven, 1947), pp. 84-87.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Sociology*, September 1948, LIV, 150.

insane, feeble-minded, or ordinary criminals. The remainder were in prison camps.

An attempt was made by a research member of the Russian Research Center of Harvard University to find the number of forced laborers by making a detailed breakdown of the population as of January 1, 1939, by major occupational groups. Forced laborers become the residual category. Numbers of males and females can be found in official sources and can be adjusted to compensate for omissions and double counting. All the remaining adults not accounted for as students, pensioners, or as members of the armed forces should either be not gainfully employed (housewives, for example) or should be employed involuntarily. On the basis of this method a forced labor figure of almost 10 million for both sexes can be derived.

For 1940 Harry Schwartz estimated the number of forced laborers on the basis of the gap between payroll figures issued by the Central Accounting Administration and the "inclusive payroll for the economy as a whole." Central Accounting data cover wage and salary earners required by law to possess labor books, craftsmen working in cooperatives and some seasonal workers. The comprehensive payroll data cover, in addition, members of the armed forces and involuntary workers. If the average annual wage of armed forces personnel or forced laborers is 2,000 rubles, the difference of 37 billion rubles would support 18.5 million persons. Five million men were assumed to be in the army. Schwartz therefore concluded that 13.5 million persons were involuntary workers.<sup>3</sup>

Naum Jasny has presented the most recent estimate. Jasny's was based on production and investment data drawn from the State Plan for 1941. He assumed a ratio of productivity between forced labor and free labor at one-half to one. Taking into account prisoners hired out, working in a service capacity in the camps, and working in industries not mentioned in the Plan, such as gold mining, Jasny concluded that about 3.5 million were camp inmates in 1941.<sup>4</sup> This figure, however, does not include children, invalids, and other people who do not work.

<sup>3</sup> Harry Schwartz, "A Critique of 'Appraisals of Russian Economic Statistics,'" *Review of Economics and Statistics*, February 1948, xxx, 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> "Labor and Output in Soviet Concentration Camps," *Journal of Political Economy*, October 1951, pp. 405-419.

#### Number of Prisoners in the U.S.S.R. and Other Countries

Because of the Soviet concealment of prison data the number of forced laborers cannot be known. Even if the number of forced laborers were only two to three million, and this is the most cautious estimate, the number is enormous in comparison either to the number confined under the Tsarist regime or to the number of prisoners confined in other countries at the present time. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia*,<sup>5</sup> 2d edition, vol. 5, col. 361, stated that Tsarist penal labor reached its maximum in 1913 when 33,000 were confined; of these 5,000 were political prisoners. The number of people confined in regular Tsarist prisons reached a peak in 1912 with 184,000, according to Andrei Vyshinsky.<sup>6</sup> This figure includes common criminals as well as "politicals." In prerevolutionary days the highest number of political exiles was 17,000 in 1907 (according to *Soviet Penal Repression*, Moscow, 1934, p. 108). All these figures are taken from orthodox Soviet publications, which do not minimize the evils of Tsarism. A comparison of these statistics with even minimum estimates for the Soviet Union reveals the great expansion of forced labor after the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Soviet figures may also be compared to the statistics of other countries, countries which, like Tsarist Russia, have published data on prison population. In the United States, for example, portrayed in Soviet propaganda as a most barbaric dungeon, full prison statistics are published. They show that there is an average of one person out of 1,000 imprisoned, i.e., a total prison population of 150,000 in a country with a population of more than 150 million. If the U.S.S.R. had the same ratio of prisoners to population, it would have 200,000 prisoners rather than 2 to 20 million. The U.S.S.R. would have 200,000, that is, if crime were as prevalent under Soviet socialism as under capitalism. But all Soviet apologists assert that crime is disappearing under socialism. Hence a figure considerably less than 200,000 would be expected, rather than a figure from 15 to 100 times as large.

#### Social Effects of the Forced Labor System

Forced labor on the tremendous scale on which it exists in the U.S.S.R. brings terrible consequences in its wake.

<sup>5</sup> *Malaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (Moscow, 1936).

<sup>6</sup> *Prisons in Capitalist Countries* (Moscow, 1937), p. 54.

Those most seriously affected are, of course, the victims themselves, persons confined for shorter or longer times to forced labor camps. Their lives are likely to be, in Hobbes' phrase, "nasty, mean, brutish, and short." Work is burdensome and for long hours. Skills frequently become rusty. Work conditions are hazardous to health, and hence illness comes often. Inadequacy of medical facilities delays or prevents recuperation. Human relations deteriorate in the unnatural society of the camps. Even if the victim survives his camp existence and returns to free society, he may be handicapped in rehabilitating himself either by physical or psychical defects or by the stigma attached to his name.

The forced labor system brutalizes others besides the victims. The keepers and guardians responsible for guarding the unfortunate inmates suffer a blunting of moral fibers and display tendencies to degeneration.

The system makes fear routine in the population. It shuts mouths which should speak freely and inspires the utmost caution and servility.

By its existence on a vast scale the forced labor system makes necessary the continued elevation of the political police and their continued penetration into the innermost recesses of everyday life. Since the role of the police is in turn dependent in part on the size of the forced labor establishment, a vicious rhythm is created which continues to exert deleterious effects on Soviet society.

#### **Forced Labor Constant in Soviet Society**

Forced labor has been a constant feature of Soviet society from the early days of the civil-war concentration camps to the present period of large-scale economic enterprises maintained and operated by prison labor. In the first years of the regime the Bolsheviks through proclamations promising reform of prisoners attempted to obscure the seamy reality of this institution. In recent years the Soviet authorities by their almost complete silence on forced labor have attempted to enforce secrecy about the hundreds of camps and millions of prisoners. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence not only of the economic and political significance of forced labor in the Soviet Union but also of the inhumanities which have accompanied its application through 34 years of Communist rule.

At every stage of Soviet development the forced

labor system has been adapted to changing political and economic needs. The use of forced labor as a means of political control has been constant, but the groups most seriously affected have changed in accordance with shifting emphases in political warfare. The economic significance of forced labor has varied with changes in economic programs.

#### **Forced Labor in the Period of War Communism, 1918-1921**

Forced labor camps were first opened in the fall of 1918 with the institution of the "red terror." Political repression of the former ruling groups, the *raison d'être* of forced labor in the first decade of Soviet rule, was presented as a temporary measure directed against an enemy class destined to destruction. In this period forced labor was on a small scale, with perhaps less than 100,000 in camps in 1921. This number was particularly small compared with the large-scale operations in subsequent years, when the same repressive measure was directed against workers, peasants, and the revolutionary intelligentsia, the purported mainstay of the regime.

Nevertheless, it was in this early period, 1918-1928, that the forced labor system became entrenched in Soviet society. In the first months of the revolution the Bolsheviks organized a special political police agency, the Cheka, which has continued to exist under other names to the present. This police agency played a key role in the operation of forced labor camps, partly because it possessed the power to sentence victims to exile or to forced labor camps without any judicial procedure, by administrative decree only. The labor performed by the victims was in the early years of only incidental value to the state, since little attempt was made to organize it on a profitable basis. This was also true of the other widely heralded "progressive penal institutions," such as labor colonies or corrective labor houses, to which errant citizens of the working class were sent.

#### **Forced Labor in the NEP Period 1921-1928**

Concentration or forced labor camps continued to exist all through the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP), 1921-1928, along with the system of penal institutions for nonpolitical criminals and the work projects organized for those sentenced to forced labor without incarceration. Although the NEP period represented a consid-

erable relaxation from the stringent persecution applied during the first years of Bolshevik rule, there was little essential improvement in the status of the political prisoner. The repression carried out earlier by the Cheka found its continuation in the activities of the GPU-OGPU.

It was in this early period that the authorities formulated the legal basis of the forced labor system. One such principle involved the previously mentioned acceptance of extrajudicial methods for sentencing to forced labor, and control of forced labor camps by the political police. The criminal law codes instituted during NEP fixed forced labor as a standard penalty. These codes, typified by that of the R.S.F.S.R. (1922; revised in 1926), distinguished between forced labor with confinement and forced labor without confinement. The former involves incarceration in a labor camp, or colony, and the latter compulsory performance at a reduced rate of pay in either the person's regular job or some other assignment. These varieties of forced labor have been perpetuated to the present day.

In addition to establishing norms of the criminal law, Soviet authorities in this early period promulgated the first corrective labor code. This was issued in the R.S.F.S.R. in 1924. It was followed by codes of the other republics. These statutes established a detailed set of rules for persons condemned to all types of forced labor, and provided for a system of social stratification in Soviet penal institutions in which criminal elements were considered the elite.

#### The Early Plan Period, 1929-1934

With the end of NEP and the resumption of the "socialist offensive" in 1929, forced labor assumed new importance. In the earlier years forced labor was aimed at former "exploiting" classes. In the period of collectivization the farmers who held small tracts of land and a few head of livestock became the chief victims. Five million of these peasants with their families were eliminated, as Molotov acknowledged, i.e., were uprooted and transported to remote regions of the U.S.S.R. The Five Year Plans were inaugurated at this time to bring rapid industrialization to Soviet society. The greatly expanded economic activity of the state was attended by a substantial increase in the population of the forced labor camps. By 1931 the number of inmates in both prisons and

corrective labor camps is estimated to have been almost 2 million for the R.S.F.S.R. and the Ukraine alone.<sup>7</sup>

The economic exploitation of Soviet prisoners by the OGPU and its successor, the NKVD, became more obvious as the years passed. Soviet figures relating to several projects employing prison labor were published during the 1930's. They indicate that the U.S.S.R. employed more forced laborers on each of several projects than the total number of prisoners forced to perform heavy labor in any year under the Tsar. According to a Soviet source, the highest point of repression under the old regime was reached in 1913, when 33,000 convicts were engaged in penal labor.<sup>8</sup> In an attempt to refute Western charges about Soviet forced labor, Molotov reported to the All-Union Congress of Soviets on March 8, 1931, that there were "about 60,000" persons performing corrective labor on three highways, a railway and the White Sea-Baltic Canal.

In actual fact, a much greater number of forced laborers was employed on these projects, which constituted only a small portion of the total forced labor activity. In 1933, upon completion of the canal alone, about 72,000 of the prisoners who had worked on the project were freed or received shortened terms by governmental decree. Similar decrees in 1937 released 55,000 prisoners who worked on the Moscow-Volga Canal and 10,000 who worked on double-tracking the Karymskoye-Khabarovsk railway.

The period of the First Five Year Plan was important for developments in the legal basis of forced labor, which since that time has remained substantially unchanged. Both the 1930 statute on corrective labor camps and the 1933 R.S.F.S.R. Corrective Labor Code (see p. 8), which regulates all other types of forced labor, are still in effect. In addition, a 1930 law of the R.S.F.S.R. introduced into the Soviet judicial system the principle of exile at forced labor, hitherto applied only administratively by the OGPU. This measure found immediate and widespread application against the kulaks in the then developing collec-

<sup>7</sup> Estimate based on data in A. Ya. Vyshinsky, *Ot Tyur'm k Vospitatel'nym Uchrezhdeniyam* (From Prisons to Educational Institutions), Moscow, 1934, pp. 171, 259.

<sup>8</sup> Small Soviet Encyclopedia (Moscow, 1936), vol. 5, col. 361.

tivization program. Exile at forced labor was widely applied to these peasants by the courts as well as by the OGPU.

During this period a definite end was written to the pretense that the political police with their powers outside the law constituted a temporary phenomenon in Soviet development. The so-called exploiting classes had been liquidated, and socialism was soon to be proclaimed. Yet the status and extra-legal authority of the political police were fully confirmed in 1934 when the U.S.S.R. established, for the first time on the All-Union level, a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).

#### **The Era of the Purges, 1935-1939**

Forced labor had therefore already become a well-developed system by the time country-wide, new wholesale purges were initiated in the mid-1930's. Consequently, the administrative structure of this system was well organized and equipped to receive the additional great numbers of victims who were soon to find their way into the camps and other penal institutions.

Changes in the police structure of the Soviet Union in 1934 when the All-Union NKVD was established made it easier for the Soviet Government to sentence people to the labor camps without according them the right of court trial. This procedure was institutionalized in the form of the Special Conference of the NKVD, a police organ with the power to exile, banish, or confine in corrective labor camps for periods up to 5 years. Under the conditions of great internal stress prevailing in the Soviet Union following the assassination of Kirov in 1934, the police authorities exercised their extrajudicial powers freely on the Soviet citizenry.

The state found ample projects on which to employ these great masses of human material at forced labor. The NKVD's economic activity expanded tremendously in the fields of hydroelectric construction, production of industrial goods, and exploitation of the extractive industries, especially in remote localities. It was during these years, for example, that the forced labor camps of *Dalstroi* (the Far Eastern Construction Trust) became synonymous with the mining of gold in the Soviet Union.

#### **Forced Labor on the Eve of World War II**

By the time forced labor became a large-scale business in the U.S.S.R., the authorities became secretive about the magnitude and even the existence of the system. A gauge of the importance which forced labor had assumed in the economy of the Soviet Union during the late 1930's was provided by the detailed Soviet Economic Plan for 1941. This Plan, intended only for official use, fell into the hands of the Germans during World War II. The text of the Plan disclosed some dimensions of the forced labor operations in the economy and showed that a sizable part of the total production in the Soviet Union was performed by forced laborers.

#### **War Developments in Forced Labor**

With the outbreak of World War II the population of Soviet forced labor camps was augmented for the first time by large numbers of non-Soviet citizens. These consisted of inhabitants of the Baltic States and the eastern part of Poland who were considered hostile to the Soviet Government, as well as prisoners from the liquidated Polish armed forces. Many of these foreign prisoners were sent to penal labor institutions or transported to exile in the Soviet Union without the formality of judicial procedure. The inhumanity of Soviet methods of banishment to exile and forced labor is well recorded by documents on the deportations from the three Baltic States in 1941, which include long and detailed lists of individuals to be rounded up and transported, and by the depositions of former Polish prisoners.

Soviet participation in the war brought about considerable changes in the forced labor empire. Although there is little factual information on this period, because of war-time secrecy, the population of the camps seems to have decreased as a result of the need for manpower at the front. Various groups of Soviet citizens were transferred to army units. The Polish prisoners who had been incarcerated for almost 2 years were released by the agreement between the Polish Government-in-Exile and the Soviet Government of July 30, 1941. There does not seem, however, to have

been a sharp cutback in the productive tasks assigned to the NKVD, although it is probable that the responsibilities of this agency were altered by the emphasis on functions relating to war production.

The war also brought in its wake other trends affecting the status of forced labor as an institution. Sentences to corrective labor without incarceration, always boasted of as an effective reform measure by the Bolsheviks, were to a large extent replaced by short-term sentences to deprivation of freedom. In 1942, for example, in the R.S.F.S.R. (excluding the autonomous republics) sentences to deprivation of freedom accounted for 73 percent of all sentences by the courts, as compared with 33.5 percent in 1934. This development seems to have been due largely to restrictive labor legislation passed at the beginning of the war.

Under the stress of war conditions, so-called "labor educational colonies" were organized in 1943 under the NKVD for minors aged 11 to 16.<sup>9</sup> As far as is known, this marked the first time that penal measures had been applied to children as young as 11 years of age. In the same year the old Tsarist punishment of *katorga*, or hard labor, which the Bolsheviks of earlier years had abolished with great fanfare, was instituted for terms of 15 to 20 years by an edict of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet on April 19, 1943. The Soviet authorities said that this punishment was designed for certain crimes by both "German Fascists and traitors to the motherland—those giving aid to the enemy." Actually, terms of the law were vague enough so that it could be applied to political dissidents.

#### **Developments Since the War's End**

Towards the end of the war, forced labor began to assume a role of greater importance than had apparently been allotted to it during the years when the country had been in extreme danger. New contingents of people undergoing repression provided labor power for the huge amount of reconstruction which was to be undertaken. Among these the main groups seem to have been new de-

<sup>9</sup>I. T. Golyakov, *Ugolovnoye Pravo* (Criminal Law), Moscow, 1947, p. 80.

portees from the Baltic States and other annexed territories, collaborators with the Germans, deserters and members of the Vlasov army, and simple workers and soldiers returned from Europe who were considered to need a period of reindoc-trination. Several Soviet minority nationalities fell victim to the charge of cooperating with the enemy and were deported to other regions of the U.S.S.R. These included the Volga Germans, the Chechen-Ingush, Kalmyks, Karachai, and others. Great numbers of enemy prisoners of war were organized by the NKVD into productive units for the state.

Although several important functions in the construction field were withdrawn from control of the NKVD early in 1946, this agency nevertheless appears to have been one of the largest capital construction ministries in the U.S.S.R. in the postwar period. The MVD is in charge of the construction and maintenance of highways of All-Union importance and has been entrusted with a large share of responsibility for some of the greatest railway and hydrotechnical construction projects attempted in the U.S.S.R. (see also Chapter V). Included in the latter are the large power plants and canals announced in the Soviet press during the latter half of 1950. The great publicity accorded the five decrees on the subject did not, of course, mention the part the MVD will play, since the Soviet Government no longer boasts of the "achievements" of its slave labor force.

The present size of the slave labor force at the disposal of the MVD is unknown. Soviet sources in recent years have seldom referred to the U.S.S.R.'s forced labor system and hardly at all to the once well-publicized institutions which administer it. Forced labor nevertheless continues to form an integral unit in Soviet planning and is without question a factor of importance to the development of the Soviet economy.

The dislocation of population caused by the war served a great purpose in enlightening the world regarding Soviet forced labor. By strict censorship over all publications and outgoing news and by strict control of travel the Soviet authorities had attempted to draw curtains on the forced labor system. As a result of the war, however, thousands of Soviet citizens had an opportunity to escape from further Bolshevik rule by refusing

to return to a concentration-camp existence. In this group were many who in the prewar period had suffered as political prisoners. Their accounts of personal experiences and their knowledge of the system threw a flood of light on the

operation of the regime of forced labor in the Soviet Union, as did the accounts of German prisoners of war who had spent some time in regular Soviet concentration camps and were later allowed to return to their country.

## Problems Facing the North Atlantic Community

by Ambassador William H. Draper, Jr.  
U.S. Special Representative in Europe<sup>1</sup>

You are working toward the same important ends which my colleagues and I in the North Atlantic Council are trying to achieve, and I should like, therefore, to pay tribute to Lord Duncannon and his associates who conceived this Conference. I also want to thank each of you for your public spirit in coming here to explore ways and means of promoting a better understanding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) objectives in your respective countries and communities.

There could be no more fitting place than Oxford for this Conference. By bringing together and educating Rhodes scholars from many countries over many years, Oxford has made one of the outstanding contributions toward broader international understanding.

The idea of education exchanges between nations has spread widely since Sir Cecil Rhodes had his great idea. Today, thousands of students and teachers pass back and forth each year between all free countries. This year, more than 8,000 students from NATO countries are studying in the United States alone, and 20,000 Americans are studying in other lands, mainly in the countries of NATO. This circulation of students and teachers and knowledge is the bloodstream, or I might call it the thought stream, of the Atlantic community, essential to its growth.

I should like to consider with you the simple question of what NATO is and what we may expect it to become. This, I must confess, is something we should do more often. The day-to-day business of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is detailed and complex. Sometimes I feel we tend

to get bogged down in current activities. Your organization serves an exceedingly useful purpose if it does no more than encourage those of us directly concerned with NATO affairs to take stock from time to time.

### Background of NATO

The North Atlantic community, as a community of interests, existed long before the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on April 4, 1949. Two world wars had demonstrated that an all-out attack aimed against one of the members of the community threatened the security of all, and that sooner or later all would be drawn in. Twice within a generation, countries of the community had been obliged to band together to resist, and to finally overcome in long and costly wars, aggression that had been thrust upon them.

In other respects as well, the North Atlantic community existed before the treaty. The countries in that community are founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law. They are free and independent countries and are determined to remain so. Much of their spiritual and cultural heritage they hold in common. These are sometimes referred to as the intangibles that unite the North Atlantic countries. But to my mind, the intangibles—the spirit, the will, and the determination of our peoples—are the essential factor; upon their strength depends our freedom.

At the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty,<sup>2</sup> the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, emphasized that the reality of the treaty was

<sup>1</sup> Address made before the Atlantic Community Conference at Oxford, England, on Sept. 12 and released to the press (No. 725) on the same date.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Apr. 17, 1949, p. 471.

the unity of belief, of spirit, of interest, of the community of nations represented here. It is the product of many centuries of common thought and of the blood of many simple and brave men. . . . The reality lies not in the common pursuit of a material goal or of a power to dominate others. It lies in the affirmation of moral and spiritual values which govern the kind of life they propose to lead and which they propose to defend, by all possible means, should the necessity be thrust upon them.

The other foreign ministers present at the signing of the treaty also dwelt upon these two themes of defense and of peaceful progress which were the twin purposes of the pact. And it was made clear at the signing of the pact, and since, that there is nothing narrow or exclusive about the North Atlantic community, that the community is but part of the world community, and that NATO is actually a bastion of strength for the whole free world.

In the treaty itself, the countries concerned agreed that an armed attack against one or more of them should be considered an attack against them all; they agreed to maintain and develop, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual assistance, the individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack; and they agreed to set up a permanent organization to aid in implementing the treaty.

But they also agreed to more.

In article 2, they agreed to "contribute to the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being." They further agreed to "seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies" and to "encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

#### **The Military Aspects of NATO**

There have been critics of NATO, both friendly and unfriendly, who have emphasized the military aspects of the NATO alliance, who have pointed out that progress in NATO organization and effort has been made largely in the military sphere, and that economic and cultural development of the Atlantic community has been pushed into the background.

In commenting upon this criticism, I should like to sketch very briefly a little recent history which is needed to understand the origins of the North Atlantic Treaty and the subsequent development of NATO.

You are familiar with that history. You know that Western leaders sought to create out of the wreckage left from the Second World War a world community of nations, directed to peaceful advancement. They established the United Nations for that purpose. And the United States and its allies in the West proceeded to disarm.

Then came the disillusionment. With mounting horror, we watched the accumulation of evidence

that the Soviet Union was embarked upon aggressive expansion to which there were apparently no limits. One by one, the countries of Eastern Europe passed under Soviet control in direct violation of Soviet pledges. Then came the Communist aggression in Greece and Soviet pressure on Turkey. Then came the rejection by the Soviet Union of the Marshall Plan and subsequent efforts to cripple the economic recovery of the West. Then came the organization of the Cominform, the blocking of peace treaties, and the stepping up of Communist activities throughout the world. These developments were accompanied by persistent Soviet use of the veto in the United Nations and the unleashing in the Soviet Union and throughout the world of a campaign of hate, distrust, and lies.

Finally came the Soviet-managed *coup d'état* in Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1948, followed shortly by the Berlin blockade, marking direct Soviet intervention and expansion into the very center of Europe. It was then that the free countries of the West started negotiations which culminated in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Even then, in 1949, we still thought we had time to build the military defenses of the Atlantic community without making much sacrifice. That complacency was shattered by the Communist invasion of South Korea in June 1950, demonstrating as it did that world communism was not only expansionist but reckless as well. Rearmament in the West, and rearmament in a hurry, was clearly demanded.

It was in these circumstances that the overwhelming thought and attention and energy of the NATO countries were thrown into the drive for rearmament. Elementary considerations of security demanded that the nations of the West build an effective military shield against the mounting danger as fast as possible, and that the defense effort should have the highest priority. This did not mean, and does not mean, that the other objectives of the North Atlantic community have been abandoned. It merely means that first things had to come first.

Last week, the Soviet delegate to the U.N. Security Council, Mr. Malik, went to great lengths to denounce NATO as an aggressive military alliance directed against the Soviet Union and to attack with special violence the principal architects of NATO. There was nothing new in this. It has been a major theme of Soviet propaganda for years. But it did seem unusually vitriolic, even for a Communist.

I think I can understand the violence of this Soviet attack on NATO. It must stem at least partly from frustration. Only a few years ago, the countries of the West, individualistic, divided and militarily weak, must have seemed easy pickings to the men of the Kremlin. Today, we are no longer easy pickings.

Today, we have very substantial NATO defense

forces in being, a common NATO military command in operation, and a military build-up program that is steadily moving forward. The military plan agreed upon by NATO powers at Lisbon last February calls for the provision to NATO by the end of this year of approximately 50 combat-ready ground divisions, about 4,000 airplanes, and a comparable naval strength. These goals may not be achieved in full by the end of this calendar year, but any slippage is likely to be of relatively small proportions and with intensive effort it should be possible to complete the 1952 goals early in 1953.

#### **Progress No Reason for Complacency**

This, I submit, is a good record. Just a few years ago, many European members of NATO were on the verge of economic collapse. Europe was virtually disarmed. Today, in Europe, substantial and steadily increasing NATO forces stand guard, deliveries of equipment are rising, and training programs are accelerating. Our common military planning and military leadership have made important gains as combined training exercises have been undertaken and successfully accomplished. During the past year, 700 million dollars' worth of U.S. offshore procurement contracts were placed in Europe to help strengthen the European production base. NATO recently developed recommendations for a coordinated European aircraft production program to which the United States is gearing a part of its new offshore procurement program. Scores of air bases and widespread communications facilities are being constructed for the use of NATO forces. In the military build-up, we are clearly making progress.

Meanwhile, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been streamlined and made into a much more effective instrument for action. Negotiations for a European Defense Community have been completed and a treaty is in the process of ratification. The European Coal and Steel Community has come into being. Recently, the European Payments Union successfully weathered a severe crisis and was extended to carry on its good work. Agreements with Western Germany have been signed to end the military occupation of Germany and make possible German participation in Western defense as part of a European army.

These, I submit, are solid achievements. No longer is NATO only a phrase or an idea. It is a going concern, and one that is growing in strength and effectiveness.

Let those who have worked long and hard to achieve these ends take encouragement from the record. But let them not take progress as a reason for complacency. For in spite of recent suggestions in the news there is no credible evidence of the easing of the Soviet threat itself. And, in the face of that threat, present NATO strength—mili-

tary, economic, and spiritual—still remains far from adequate.

The economic foundations of the Atlantic community are not as sound as they should be and need further strengthening if we are to have effective security. The chief difficulty lies, as I pointed out in my recent report to President Truman,<sup>3</sup> in the chronic balance-of-payments problem that exists between Western Europe and the dollar area. The United States has a huge excess of exports over imports, an excess that has persisted over a long period of years. Western Europe, for its part, has a persistent shortage of dollars and is unable to pay for its essential requirements in the dollar area. This has called for continued large-scale annual grants-in-aid from the United States to Europe since the war. In my report to the President, I pointed out that there were important things to be done both in Europe and the United States if this difficult problem were to be solved.

I have noted that my report was received with considerable interest on both sides of the Atlantic. It was not unnatural, I suppose, that the European press in its comments should have emphasized what I had to say about American responsibilities and that it should have given considerably less attention to what I had to say about European responsibilities. It is clear indeed that if Europe is eventually to pay its way in the world without American aid, the United States must take needed action to adjust its foreign-trade balance and yet maintain a high and increasing level of world trade. This means both reducing the barriers to greater purchases from Europe and also increasing overseas investments of American capital.

But there are important things that Europe, too, must do. Europe must become more productive—and at more competitive prices. This means harder thinking and harder work. This means creating a wider market, a market freed of trade restrictions and cartel arrangements which hinder mass production and mass selling. It also means a deeper market—a market continuously expandable by reason of the ability of workers with a rising standard of living to buy increasingly the fruits of their production.

These, I am happy to note in passing, are objectives set forth in the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. A single market for coal and steel as wide as the six-member countries will be established. If, as this great experiment develops, greater competition and greater productivity—as publicly stressed by the President of the High Authority—are actually achieved, the way will have been opened for similar progress in other industries and perhaps within wider boundaries.

I was gratified that French Prime Minister Pinay, in an important speech a few days ago, re-

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1952, p. 353.

jected a solution of France's economic problems based on inflation or on stagnation. Instead, he championed a policy of greater production based on free and fair competition, on new productive techniques, and on banning restrictive agreements by law. He said—and I quote—"The solution for France is not a question of selling fewer products at higher prices—it is a question of satisfying more needs at lower costs." I could not agree more—not only for France but for all of Europe.

#### **Adverse Labor Conditions**

Another problem that I would like to mention here, and one with which NATO could profitably concern itself, is that of overpopulation and unemployment in some of the member countries. Overpopulation and unemployment, wherever they occur, pose a threat to social, economic, and political stability. Moreover, they represent great human waste which should not, in this day and age, be allowed to exist on any appreciable scale.

Side by side with unemployment in some NATO countries is labor shortage in others. Surely the community ought to see to it that such a situation should not be permitted to continue. It is clear that when 10 percent of the working population is unemployed, as in Italy, we have a situation that needs correction. Naturally, every possible step should be taken by the particular government concerned to put its own people to work, but if this problem cannot be wholly solved by national action, which is clearly the case of Italy, then it is to the advantage of the entire Atlantic community to cooperate in finding solutions.

One answer, and a very elementary one, to this problem is to facilitate emigration from overpopulated countries to those in need of additional labor. I realize only too well the obstacles and the prejudices that often prevent such a transfer of peoples. In most of our countries there are important groups that oppose the liberalization of immigration rules. Our own recent experience in the United States is a good case in point. There are similar difficulties in other NATO countries.

You who are assembled here tonight can, I believe, make a contribution to overcoming these difficulties. It is highly important, in my opinion, to increase public understanding of the relation between overpopulation and wasted manpower on the one hand and peace and stability on the other.

In my own country, President Truman has just appointed a seven-member commission to review U.S. immigration policy.<sup>4</sup> I sincerely hope that this will result in a modification of the narrowly restrictive immigration bill which Congress recently passed over the President's veto. Other countries might also give careful consideration to this problem.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1952, p. 407.

The strength of the North Atlantic community—its ability to resist military attack, to withstand economic strain, and to resist ideological erosion—is no greater than the spirit that binds us together. We have made considerable progress in building military and political defenses. We have—in the economic field—at least defined the objectives and have coped, by temporary and emergency measures, with economic crises as they have arisen. But I must confess that I share your concern that we of the North Atlantic community could and should do more to strengthen our ideological defenses.

The world-wide struggle in which we are engaged is not only political, military, and economic. It is likewise, and even more importantly, a battle for the minds of men. Communism battles for men's minds with all weapons, fair and foul, with no holds barred. It stirs up strife with false promises. It encourages brother to testify against brother. It plays upon prejudice and passion. It uses the concentration camp and the torture chamber. It murders and kidnaps its victims. With diabolical skill it wrings confessions from the innocent by drugs and mental and physical cruelty beyond the limits of human endurance. Its propaganda knows no bounds. If, with these weapons, it could enslave the minds and souls of peoples, it could conquer the world.

I am profoundly grateful that you here at this Conference have recognized the vital importance of countering this aspect of the world struggle with communism. Under article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty, our countries have agreed to strengthen their free institutions by bringing about a broader understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded. But actions by governments alone are not enough. Governmental and NATO information programs are highly useful, and we are developing our facilities in this respect, but the main burden of strengthening public understanding of the meaning and purposes of NATO and of the basic values and the community of interests that underlie it, and equal understanding of the alternative slavery that the Soviet offers, necessarily falls upon private groups, organizations, and individuals. You, here at Oxford, have seen the great need and you have undertaken to shoulder a part of the burden.

I can foresee that the official NATO organization and some great unofficial allied organization of private individuals and groups from our many countries might well bring about, by working together, a closer relationship among the people of the North Atlantic community. There is a great opportunity here, and one whose possibilities we can only begin to contemplate. As U.S. representative in the North Atlantic Council, I shall welcome contributions or suggestions from any of you as to ways and means by which NATO could promote a fuller knowledge of the Atlantic community and its problems.

In the work of the Council I sense a growing spirit of dedication to our common purpose. Our 14 governments have made long strides toward unity and strength. If this trend continues, and I expect it will, we can see ahead improved prospects of a peaceful world solution for which free men have hoped since Soviet imperialism unmasked its evil intentions.

In the dark days of 1940 when the British Empire stood alone against Hitler's mad attack, and when my country was beginning to help by sending rifles and guns and destroyers to Britain, Winston Churchill in a moving address in the House of Commons remarked that the affairs of the United States and those of the British Empire were getting more and more mixed up for the mutual and general advantage of both.

At present, the affairs of the 14 NATO partners are also getting mixed up together for a great and noble purpose—the preservation of peace and freedom. I cannot see the end of the road, but I suggest that we all take courage and inspiration from Mr. Churchill's words of 12 years ago. Speaking of this mixing process, he said,

Looking out on the future I do not view the process with any misgivings. I could not stop it if I wished; no one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible, to broader lands and better days.

## Maltreatment of Americans in Communist China

*Press Conference Statement by Secretary Acheson*

Press release 712 dated September 10

You have all heard of the death of Bishop Francis Ford in a prison in Communist China. This Catholic clergyman was 60 years old and had spent over 30 years of his life in China.

About a year and a half ago we heard that Bishop Ford had been placed under arrest by the Communists. But we could never be sure what had happened to the Bishop because, in the tragically familiar pattern of the Communist police state, arrest meant that he was cut off completely from all outside contact, and no one in authority would divulge any information concerning him. As far as we know, however, he was never brought to public trial.

Credible reports now indicate that Bishop Ford was allowed only the most meager diet and was subjected to maltreatment and humiliation in the presence of the people he had served for half a lifetime, before he died in a Communist prison cell last February. The Chinese Communists did not allow news of his death to reach the outside world until more than 6 months later.

Other innocent and peaceful Americans in China have similarly fallen victim to Commu-

nist brutality. Gertrude Cone, a Methodist missionary, applied to Communist officials for an exit permit in January 1951. Her permit was not issued. In the summer of 1951 she became ill with cancer. Running low on funds, she asked Communist officials for permission to telegraph Hong Kong for money to live on. Her request was refused.

Gertrude Cone subsisted on a starvation diet until early February 1952. In December 1951 she fell and broke her hip. Despite extreme pain from cancer, the broken hip, and malnutrition, she made her way to the police station to again plead for permission to wire Hong Kong for funds. Again she was refused. Gertrude Cone was carried by stretcher across the border into Hong Kong February 18, 1952. She died 48 hours later.

Gertrude Cone had committed no crime. She was not accused of any crime. But her life was cut short by the brutal callousness of Communist officials.

Dr. William Wallace, an American Baptist physician, superintendent of the Stout Memorial Hospital, Wuchow, China, was arrested by the Communists on December 19, 1950. He had spent much of his life in helping the Chinese people. But Dr. Wallace was grilled and tortured by his Communist jailers. He died in prison February 10, 1951. His only crime was the high esteem in which he was held by the people of Wuchow.

Philip Cline, an American businessman, was arrested in April 1951, accused of spying. He was released several months later in a precarious state of health. He suffered from heart disease and diabetes. Despite his critical condition, he was rearrested in August 1951 and forced to stand endless questioning by Communist officials. In October 1951 Mr. Cline was again released from prison. Cline and his wife were destitute, living on bread and water. In the middle of November 1951 Philip Cline died in the city of Tsingtao. A principal cause of this American's death was the denial to him of insulin for treatment of his diabetes while in prison.

There are other American and foreign nationals similarly arrested on trumped-up charges who are still languishing in Chinese Communist prisons. They continue to be denied the basic right to communicate with the outside, to know the charges on which they are held, to have access to counsel and witnesses, and to have a fair and open trial.

The standard Chinese Communist procedure in treatment of prisoners is to endeavor to extort false confessions from them by use of third-degree methods. The Communists refuse even to acknowledge that they hold these unfortunate persons. There may be more Gertrude Cones, Bishop Fords, Philip Clines, and William Wallaces, whose cases are unknown to us. We only know that these Communist crimes will be forever condemned by those who believe in simple justice and fair play for human beings.

## The Colombo Plan: New Promise for Asia

by Wilfred Malenbaum

The Colombo Plan relates to South and Southeast Asia, to countries where there are some 600 million people, about one-fourth of the world's population. Average annual incomes are among the lowest in the world. In real terms these incomes are less than they were prior to the war. This decline is only partly due to the dislocations and destruction of the intervening years. More significant by far is the fact that average income in these areas has tended to decrease over a long period. The development of new resources and the improved use of old resources have not kept pace with the increases in population. Thus the region no longer produces enough food for local consumption, even at the low caloric levels now prevailing. Despite the fact that there are in the area countries which are the world's major exporters of rice, a basic cereal in the diets of the people of South and Southeast Asia, millions of scarce dollars must be spent each year for grains imported from abroad. The potentials of the area, both human and material, should make it economically possible both to increase exports from the surplus regions and to reduce the import needs in other countries. Rapid development of this potential requires an aggressive attack not only in agriculture directly but also in transportation, power, health, education, and various industrial fields. Today, economic development is appropriately the major concern of the people and governments of South and Southeast Asia.

The United States is deeply interested in this development. This interest stems from our basic concern about the unhappy plight of so many in the area. It stems also from our desire that these people not be lost to freedom and democracy through any conviction that communism alone can improve their economic and social well-being. The United States is also interested because of the increased interchange of goods and services that would result from expanding incomes in the area. South and Southeast Asia are important sources

of basic materials which are essential, in growing quantities, to the economic welfare of the Western world. The growing populations in the area can generate a large demand for the goods and services of the more developed parts of the world. Given this mutuality of interest, it is readily understandable that the United States has been cooperating with these countries in their efforts to rehabilitate their economies and push forward their plans for economic development. This Government welcomed the initiative of the countries in the area in formulating the Colombo Plan and readily accepted an invitation to participate in a program devoted to objectives so important to the United States.

Almost 2 years have passed since the publication of *The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia*,<sup>1</sup> which presented the development programs of Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and the U.K. territories of Malaya and British Borneo for the 6-year period from July 1, 1951, through June 30, 1957. These programs envisaged a total investment of £1,868 million (about 5.2 billion dollars) in the public sectors of these countries. It was anticipated that £784 million of this total could be provided by the areas themselves over this period, that an additional £250 million would be obtained by drawing down their sterling reserves, and that a residual £834 million (some 45 percent of the total) would be required from other sources as outside aid to the economy of the area.

The development programs under the Colombo Plan have been in operation for a full year.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> British Cmd. 8080 (1950).

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia—Fourth Meeting at Karachi, Pakistan, March 1952*, Department of State publication 4650. This document was prepared prior to the completion of the first full year of the program, but it gives a good over-all statement of the progress attained so far.

year has shown progress that has in many ways exceeded expectations. It has also pointed up specific difficulties which lie ahead. Most important, perhaps, the first year has demonstrated that the Colombo Plan and its "sponsor," the Consultative Committee, are dynamic forces encouraging sound development in South and Southeast Asia.

The Consultative Committee is a unique instrument. The underdeveloped areas of the region present to it their own programs for development. The Committee does not screen these programs; it does not in any sense underwrite them. There is no permanent secretariat. Preparation of country statements for the meetings is the responsibility of the individual countries, with such assistance as they may themselves seek. Annual sessions provide a stimulus for keeping the development programs under review. Development plans are thus not simply studies for publication, but are instead active programs which are adapted to changing circumstances. The meetings constitute a forum for the multilateral discussion of programs and progress in individual countries. An opportunity is thus provided to consider specific problems of general interest and to study successful accomplishment. Much can be learned from the experience in other countries. This process of mutual discussion and of common examination of individual country programs has appealed to increasing numbers of countries in South and Southeast Asia. There is no promise that aid will be forthcoming as a result of the planning efforts, yet additional countries have joined the Consultative Committee and are doing more intensive work on their own development plans. Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal, and Vietnam are now full members of the Consultative Committee. Other underdeveloped countries in the area, notably Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, have sent observers to the meetings. There are prospects that at least some of these may accede to full participation.

All the developed countries which are members of the Committee—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States—do in fact have aid programs in countries of the region. All these programs are carried out through bilateral arrangements. Yet the multilateral discussions provide an excellent opportunity to appraise the relative soundness of the individual programs, the effectiveness with which they may be carried out, and the energy which the various countries of the region are themselves exerting for their own development. The developed countries are thus in an excellent position to learn of the problems at first hand and to help provide some guidance to their solutions. Moreover, the meetings provide an additional channel for correlating the activities of various donor countries in the same underdeveloped area.

Both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Economic Commission

for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) participate in the Consultative Committee meetings as observers. Bank experts have surveyed many parts of the area. Its loan operations there are expanding. The Bank is an important source of external finance for the Colombo Plan programs. ECAFE has devoted much study to those economic problems whose solution is fundamental to the development of the countries of the area. Participation by these two international organizations assures advice and guidance from objective experts sympathetic to the region and its problems.

#### **The Development Programs**

The programs emphasize transportation, power, multipurpose projects, social services, and agriculture—fields where investment is usually the responsibility of public authorities. The major attention placed upon the public sector does not mean, however, that efforts are not being made to expand private investment. Indeed, it is recognized that expansion in the public area cannot bear full fruit unless it has encouraged an increase in the level and variety of private investment. The ultimate objective, a continuous growth which the economy itself can sustain, can be achieved in most areas only by an increasing proportion of investment in the private sector.

In the original estimates for Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and the U.K. territories, about 70 percent of the total public-investment programs was in the fields of agriculture, transportation, and power. The major emphasis was in the agriculture sector, since improved power and transportation were in many cases essential to the accomplishment of the total agricultural objective. This emphasis still prevails, despite the many changes that have been made in the original programs. Day by day it becomes more evident that this area of the world must make the largest possible forward strides in agricultural development if the countries are to increase their own national income and at the same time contribute to a more stable, expanding world economy.

The specific cost estimates presented in November 1950 for the 6-year period of the Plan are no longer pertinent. Since that time, prices have increased, in some cases substantially. Changes have also been made in the programs themselves. Time has permitted a more complete examination of the needs and potentials in some of the countries. In other countries, there have been changes in emphasis as conditions have varied and as experience has revealed more clearly the nature of the needs. Thus, security conditions in certain areas have improved less rapidly than was anticipated. Current plans in these areas allocate smaller amounts to the investment program because of emergency needs arising from the continuation of war and internal disorder.

Since such changes must be made if the plans

are to be realistic, presentation of comprehensive cost totals in current prices would necessitate frequent recalculations. Recent Consultative Committee discussions were therefore concentrated on the individual programs in the current year and the year immediately ahead. This does not mean that the objectives of accomplishment over the 6-year period have been pushed aside. Rather, it reflects an increasing realization that the goals must be sought under the actual conditions prevailing in each country when specific projects are undertaken.

#### *The Newer Members*

Vietnam formulated the general outlines of a long-period development plan, which envisaged an investment of some 550 million dollars in both private and public sectors over the 6-year period of the Colombo Plan. Emphasis was placed on agriculture, transport, and communications. Vietnam anticipated that domestic investment could provide less than half of the total; the residual and larger part would need to come as loan or grant assistance from abroad.

Planning in Cambodia has not yet reached the stage of the Vietnamese programs. A large project was detailed for increasing rice yields, and much consideration has been given to a general program for expanding and diversifying agricultural output. In neither Cambodia nor Vietnam, however, is active implementation of these programs yet possible. Security conditions as well as shortages of trained personnel and funds are largely responsible for the lack of appreciable progress. Development operations have in large part given way to relief activities and to some reconstruction, with particular attention upon housing, health, and transportation.

An 8-year development program is being worked out in Burma, and a 5-year program in Laos. Nepal anticipates the submission of its development program to the 1953 meeting of the Consultative Committee.

#### *Ceylon*

Three export commodities—tea, rubber, and coconuts—provide about 90 percent of Ceylon's export earnings and about two-thirds of all employment opportunities. Despite the importance of agriculture, the country must import about 70 percent of all the food it consumes. Basic needs of the people are thus dependent upon foreign-exchange earnings, which are subject to very broad fluctuations. Ceylon's 6-year development program is therefore devoted to a general diversification of the economy, but with particular emphasis upon a large expansion in food output. Agriculture (including multipurpose projects), transport, and communications accounted for about 60 percent of some 285 million dollars of investment contemplated in the original 6-year program submitted in 1950. In the past year, Ceylon has

reconsidered this program and now envisages a greater effort, involving an expenditure in excess of 650 million dollars over this same period. This increase does reflect price rises, but it is principally due to higher goals, especially for agriculture and communications. There is a new program for rural development, and very marked increases are planned in social investment, notably in education and in health.

During 1951-52, investment of almost 85 million dollars was planned. This represents a very significant increase over actual development expenditure in 1950-51, which was close to the average annual rate of almost 50 million dollars contemplated in the original Colombo Plan estimates. The Ceylon budget year runs through September, so the actual expenditure on development during 1951-52 is not yet known. Budgetary and other problems may have prevented the fulfillment of the 85-million-dollar program. There is similar concern with respect to present plans for development expenditure in 1952-53, now envisaged at about 122 million dollars.

#### *India*

The Indian program comprised by far the bulk of the development estimates included in the 1950 Colombo Plan report. At the time the report was prepared, a total effort in the public sector of almost 3,850 million dollars was anticipated. However, subsequent analysis of Indian development needs resulted in the formulation of the Five-Year Plan, which has become the basic document for Indian development.<sup>3</sup> This program, which involves higher rates of investment than were earlier contemplated (and higher rates of local contribution to this investment), underlies the Indian presentation now before the Consultative Committee. India's 6-year effort now involves a development expenditure, in terms of November 1950 prices, of almost 4,800 million dollars. The investment program for 1951-52 aggregated about 710 million dollars, which is well in excess of the figure for 1950-51, and of the average annual program anticipated in the earlier Colombo Plan figures. Further changes in the program are being formulated. Thus, a major venture into community development is not included in the present estimates. This basic program can be expected further to alter the cost calculations as well as the expected achievements of the program.

Despite these revisions, the major objectives of the Indian program have not been altered. The program is still basically devoted to an increase in domestic food output, with the goal of both eliminating India's large dependence upon imported food supplies and increasing the present low

<sup>3</sup> *The First Five Year Plan, A Draft Outline*, Government of India, Planning Commission, New Delhi, India, July 1951.

levels of average food intake. As the programs have evolved, this food goal has become more important, with ever greater emphasis upon grain output at the expense of increases in nonfood agricultural products. However, significant progress in agriculture requires significant development in other fields, notably power and irrigation. The Indian program thus contemplates large expenditures for multipurpose projects. Present expectations are for a further increase in the level of investment to about 854 million dollars for the fiscal year 1952-53.

#### *Pakistan*

At London in 1950, Pakistan presented a 6-year development program which involved expenditure of about 660 million dollars in the public sector and some 120 million dollars in private projects. Major concentration was on agriculture, transportation, and power. The program contemplated somewhat more emphasis upon the industrial field than was true in other countries. The entire development plan, however, was admittedly based on a very hurried assessment of development needs and potential. Subsequent analysis has prompted important changes. An over-all revised total for the 6-year Colombo Plan period has not as yet been developed. However, a more detailed examination of essential development activities in 1951-52 and 1952-53 indicated that the outlay required in the public sector in these 2 years alone will be of the magnitude earlier anticipated for the 6-year period. The increases in part reflect the inadequacy of the earlier cost investigations. Thus, a single multipurpose project has already involved greater expenditure than was originally contemplated for a related group of them. Moreover, the years have brought a need for additional expenditures not originally envisaged. In a single year Pakistan invested almost 70 million dollars in refugee resettlement. It had originally anticipated a total outlay under 90 million dollars for the entire 6-year period and for all social capital, including the refugee requirements.

Investment was programmed at about 325 million dollars for 1951-52 and at about 335 million dollars for fiscal 1953. Full information on development performance in the past year is not yet available. The planned level, however, was a multiple of the actual development activity in 1950-51.

#### *United Kingdom Territories in South and Southeast Asia*

The economic problems in the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and North Borneo vary considerably. The common objective of undertaking projects to improve the economic position of the people of these areas implies for Singapore a program most heavily concentrated on social improvements, especially in housing, health services, and education. However, in the

Federation of Malaya and in Sarawak and North Borneo, development programs again show the importance attached to improvements in agriculture and to the extension of transportation, communications, and power facilities. The territories as a whole have an economy which is strongly oriented toward the output of rubber and tin. They have experienced wide variations in export earnings as prices of these commodities have fluctuated. There is again the familiar problem of providing a broader basis of consumer supplies domestically and a diversification of the economy through the more efficient use of the region's resources.

Originally, the total development contemplated in the area over the 6-year period aggregated some 300 million dollars. Changing conditions, both in the world economy and in the security situation in this area, have necessitated revisions in these estimates. The Federation of Malaya has stepped up significantly its program of rural development in order to provide resettlement for the population in areas menaced by the terrorists. There is a stepped-up effort in the field of housing, as well as an expanded concentration on road building. In 1952-53, it is expected that about 67 million dollars will be spent for development, as against 50 million dollars in 1951-52 and 36 million in 1950-51. Further increases in these expenditures are now visualized for subsequent years. In these territories emphasis on a public-investment program for diversifying the economy and for the expansion of such basic facilities as transportation and communication is in no sense an alternative to further investment in rubber, timber, and mining. Private investment is expected to continue at a high level in these areas. Indeed, the public-development program should provide some spur to private investment.

#### **Financing the Program**

The development programs were submitted in the expectation that they could be fulfilled. With respect to finance, this meant that the countries looked first upon the resources they themselves could devote to investment in the public sector of their economies. For the additional resources needed, they relied upon reasonable rates of utilization of their accumulated sterling reserves and upon that amount of foreign assistance that they hoped might in fact be available as loans or grants from abroad. Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and the U.K. territories planned an investment of 870 million dollars on the average for each of the 6 years. Of this sum, local resources would provide 365 million dollars, sterling releases about 115 million dollars, and other foreign financing some 390 million dollars. Since the last amount, 45 percent of the total, significantly exceeds the volume of loans that the countries expect to attract during each of these years, heavy reliance has been placed on

grant aid. Indeed, the revisions and expansions made in the original estimates in some countries have actually increased this dependence. On the other hand, the most dependable source of financing is the contribution by the developing countries themselves. Moreover, the determination with which these countries further their own development with their own resources is frequently a factor in the willingness of other countries to provide grant aid. Foreign assistance can play only a supplementary role in the combined effort toward a mutually desired objective. It is obviously important that the Colombo Plan countries make the largest possible contribution to financing their own development.

#### *Local Investment*

The maximum level for such contributions cannot readily be determined. National incomes in these areas are small; they are very low on a per capita basis. This suggests that, on the average, there is not a large margin for savings above even the minimum requirements for per-capita consumption. However, there is little firm statistical basis for indicating just how large these savings are or can be. The local contributions to investment in the public sector are of course effected through government expenditure. The government can make these contributions from resources raised by taxation in excess of revenues needed for current expenditures, from the profits on government-owned enterprises, from money obtained directly from the public on loan issues, or indirectly through borrowing from the banks and other financial institutions.

On the tax front, major efforts have been made in different countries both to increase the effectiveness of the existing tax laws and to expand the tax base. Experience alone will tell whether still greater efforts will in fact result in net increases in revenues. On the borrowing side, too, increasingly ingenious techniques have been developed for reaching savings which are not being effectively utilized. Here also, however, it is difficult to know when such government borrowings begin to interfere with the demands of private investors, or indeed of consumers themselves. There is certainly some point at which the borrowings exceed the savings of the country or in any event fail to encourage any expansion in usable resources. The danger of inflation is a constant fear of the underdeveloped countries. Inflation can undermine the very development objectives which prompted the increased governmental expenditures. But there is also the danger that governments seeking development may be discouraged from such "borrowings" long before they have reached a stage where inflationary pressure really constitutes a menace to the stability of the economy or to the development program.

In the first year of the Colombo Plan, total development expenditure in Ceylon, India, Pakis-

tan, and the U.K. territories may have been close to 1,200 million dollars, in contrast to the average of 870 million dollars contemplated in the original programs. This difference is due almost entirely to the larger contribution from the countries themselves.

This impressive performance in local financing was made possible by several developments which could not be foreseen at the time the original program was planned. The conflict in Korea had a marked effect on international commodity markets. These countries are important sources of rubber, tin, jute, vegetable oils, and other products, the demand for which expanded tremendously. During 1950-51, therefore, very large export earnings, coupled in some cases with a tendency toward reduced imports, resulted in unexpectedly large surpluses in foreign exchange. Government revenues also increased, primarily as a result of expanded tax returns and, in particular, expanded duties on exported commodities. A gross investment program of some 700 million dollars was thus carried out in 1950-51 without any appreciable capital from abroad. Indeed many countries entered the fiscal year 1951-52 with an increase in government cash balances and in foreign-exchange reserves. It is this improved condition which in considerable measure accounts for the development performance in 1951-52.

By the end of the year 1951-52, however, many of these factors were less favorable. Price declines for exports, coupled with a persistent increase in the cost of imported goods, resulted in heavy drains on foreign exchange. Government budgets began to show deficits on current account even before the end of the fiscal year. Present plans for 1952-53 involve outlays some 200 million dollars greater than the large investment total in 1951-52. At the fourth meeting of the Consultative Committee in Karachi, most countries indicated that their requirements for external aid in 1952-53 would be larger than in 1951-52. At the moment, however, the prospect for loan and grant assistance from abroad does not suggest a total in excess of that in the previous year; indeed, even that level may not be attained. Successful development accomplishment in fiscal 1953 will thus require outstanding achievement in the mobilization of local resources. There will be ample opportunity to test the effectiveness of various measures for raising local currencies. In many ways, the experience of the months immediately ahead may provide a real index of accomplishments to be expected in the remaining years of the Colombo program.

Ceylon, India, and Pakistan hold large sterling balances. These represent past savings, largely accumulated during the war years. By specific agreements with the United Kingdom, these countries anticipate that they will utilize about 700 million dollars of these reserves in their development efforts over the Colombo Plan period. While these

are "local" resources, they are particularly important because they can be used for foreign purchases. During 1951-52, about one-sixth of the agreed total was in fact utilized. Rates of actual expenditure in the future will be governed not only by the development needs of the three countries but also by the general problems confronting the sterling area of which they are members.

#### *Foreign Financial Assistance*

The International Bank has made development loans to India and Pakistan. A Bank mission visited Ceylon, but Ceylon has not yet requested that any loan discussions be initiated. Through 1951-52, drawings on existing credits of the Bank have totaled about 45 million dollars. On the grant side, Australia made available almost 20 million dollars, Canada, 25 million, and New Zealand, 2.8 million. United States assistance aggregated about 250 million dollars, including the emergency wheat loan to India of 190 million. (In addition to the 250 million dollars, U.S. grant assistance to Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam totaled almost 40 million for 1951-52.) The United Kingdom, in addition to its agreement to the release of sterling balances, is providing essentially all the external grant aid for its territories in the area. A specific figure for this aid in 1951-52 is not available, but the United Kingdom has committed some 170 million dollars for this purpose over the 6-year period. Mention might also be made of the fact that the Ford Foundation began operations in the area during 1951-52; it anticipates annual expenditures of about 5 million dollars for a period of years.

Foreign financial assistance to Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and the U.K. territories was thus in the vicinity of 350 million dollars during the first year of the Colombo Plan program. Present preliminary estimates for 1952-53 suggest a considerably smaller total. Drawings from International Bank credits may reach a level of about 45 million dollars. Although it is possible that new credits will be negotiated during 1952-53, a significant increase in annual drawings cannot be expected. Loans are limited by the capacity to repay, which is far short of the investment needs indicated in the 6-year programs. Grants from the Commonwealth contributors are expected to be of the same magnitude as they were in the preceding year. U.S. aid to countries in this area will be less than the previous year's total, at least by the amount of the emergency wheat loan to India. To some extent, however, financial assistance in prospect for 1952-53 will be augmented because full use had not been made of the 1951-52 aid contributions during that year.

Financial assistance to the underdeveloped countries in South and Southeast Asia has, of course, been provided on a bilateral basis. Apart from the exchanges at Consultative Committee meetings, coordination among the donor countries is

effected in the capital of each recipient country. To date, such coordination has been of a most informal nature; in particular, there is no over-all approach on the part of the donor countries as to the "best method" of making aid available. Some contributions are concentrated on the completion of a full project, including the cost of both imported and domestically produced goods. Other programs have supplied consumer goods, notably wheat. This released for other purposes the foreign exchange that would otherwise be used for wheat imports, while facilitating the noninflationary acquisition of local currency by the government through its sale of the wheat. Apart from the direct U.S. loan to India for wheat (the sales proceeds of which should also facilitate the problem of availability of local currency for development), the U.S. aid has tended to be confined to expert services, capital goods, and producers' supplies. In most countries, the United States also expects that its contribution in these forms will be at least matched by local resources which will be utilized at the discretion of the authorities of both countries who supervise the over-all program.

Foreign assistance fills a deficit in the essential requirements of these countries for their development needs. It may also serve as a catalyst to encourage expanded efforts on the part of the recipient government. Thus, supplying capital goods exclusively may have some advantages, if such goods should induce an incremental contribution of the local resources needed to make these imported goods effective in the economy. Similarly, there is an obvious danger to providing consumer goods in order to put into the hands of central authorities local currency if this should diminish their efforts to mobilize incremental amounts of local resources. On the other hand, situations can be foreseen in which it is precisely the shortage of consumer goods which is a bottleneck to expanded development activity.

#### *Technical Assistance*

Successful implementation of the development programs in the Colombo Plan countries requires not only additional capital but a significant injection of imported technical knowledge. This has been fully recognized in the Colombo Plan. Indeed, there is associated with the program a Council for Technical Cooperation in South and Southeast Asia, which provides an additional source of technicians to member governments. The United States is not a member of this Council, which has its headquarters at Colombo, although the United States maintains close liaison with it through the Embassy at Colombo. The Council supplements technical facilities made available through the United Nations and through other bilateral programs. Also, the Council is a mechanism which encourages mutual exchange of know-how among the underdeveloped countries themselves. India, Pakistan, and Ceylon are providing training

facilities and experts to one another in fields in which each has some special competence and experience.

The countries of South and Southeast Asia have made extensive use of the various technical facilities available to them. By the end of fiscal 1952 some 33 experts were operating in Ceylon, and arrangements had been completed for the training abroad of about 100 persons. Technical specialists are operating in practically every sector of development in India, from basic agricultural activities to advanced scientific fields. In addition, training facilities have been set up in various research institutions. This pattern is general throughout the area.

All the countries in the area recognize that their public development programs constitute only one sector of their over-all development activity. Private investment competes with government for materials and for the savings of the country. Nonetheless, there is general recognition that continued growth in the national product and continued increases in per-capita income will require an expanding rate of investment throughout the economy, particularly in such fields as industry and trade, which are usually dominated by private entrepreneurs. The disproportionate concentration upon development in the public sector in the early years of the Colombo Plan is considered necessary for the subsequent growth of private investment both by nationals and from abroad. Private foreign investment constitutes the only source of continuous long-period external contributions to the economy. The Pakistani program includes in its industrial category projects which will, at least in part, be privately financed. In the Indian estimates, there is explicit recognition of a rate of private investment which India feels should be maintained concurrently with the expanded program in the public sector. Private investment plays a large role elsewhere, particularly in the specialized export crop regions in Ceylon and in the U.K. territories in this area. It can be expected that later sessions of the Consultative Committee will devote increasing attention to the prospects for an expansion of private investment.

#### **Future Prospects of the Colombo Plan Programs**

The Karachi meetings in March 1952 ended with a note of cautious optimism regarding the future outlook. It was recognized that "the plan has got off to a good start." In the countries which had already submitted detailed programs, public investment in the first year averaged almost 70 percent above investment of the previous year and was in general at a higher level than the average rate contemplated in the original programs. The countries anticipated a further increase of about 20 percent in investment in the public sector for the year 1952-53.

While all realized that the very nature of basic

investment in the public sector meant that results need not be apparent in the short run, real achievements were indicated. For example, the main dam on the Gal Oya irrigation program in Ceylon was almost completed. Together with other projects already begun, this project is expected to bring under irrigation about 45,000 additional acres by the end of 1953. Ceylon had also completed the first stage of a major hydroelectric scheme which provides a generating capacity of 25,000 kw. Work was initiated on two additional projects of comparable size. Port improvement and industrial plant expansion had also been started during 1951-52. In the Indian program also much was accomplished on power and irrigation projects. Such projects as the Nangal Barrage, the Bokaro Thermal Station, and the Tungabhadra Irrigation Project and similar works in West Bengal mean that there will soon be a large increase in lands under cultivation or a substantial expansion in the yields of existing crop lands. A fertilizer plant and a locomotive works have been completed, or practically so. Similarly, the Pakistani Government has finished the main work on the Thal Irrigation Scheme, and there is every expectation that the first phase of the Lower Sind Barrage Project will be completed by the end of 1953. There is also considerable progress in hydroelectric projects and some industrial establishments. Work has been begun on the Singapore Power Station. A major resettlement in newly constructed villages is nearing completion in Malaya, and there is heartening progress in agricultural rehabilitation in Borneo and Sarawak.

The Consultative Committee recognized that continued success in the 1952-53 program, and indeed for the remaining years of the 6-year plan, would require the continued cooperation of all member governments, but it stressed that the chief responsibility was upon the developing countries themselves. It also pointed to certain imponderables. The future course of prices, for example, might have a decisive bearing on the ability of these countries to continue large-scale investment, but their own ability to influence these prices was limited. The Committee stressed the need for continued sympathetic cooperation on the part of the donor countries with respect to both technical and financial assistance.

The Consultative Committee offers a unique medium for mutual discussion of development programs in the area. It has already given evidence of the realistic spirit with which the planning countries approach their objectives. The plans are considered not sterile blueprints but flexible means for achieving development goals. The changes already made in the programs show a willingness to alter these goals as conditions make necessary this type of action. The Committee sessions provide ample evidence that the consultations can lead to improvements in procedures, and in particular to a reappraisal of

the contributions that the country itself might make to development. The Consultative Committee provides a forum in which the United States and other countries can raise questions as to the adequacy of the plans with respect to objectives which we consider important, such as the level of food output, the nature of industrial programming, the role of private enterprise, and the degree of self-help measures. Most important of all, the tradition already established at the Consultative Committee meetings, as well as the philosophy underlying the Colombo Plan, disassociates the specific discussion occurring at the meetings from any governmental commitments. These latter remain entirely within the area of bilateral discussions.

The United States Government has frequently indicated its full recognition of the importance of economic progress in the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Through various actions, including financial assistance, the United States Government has expressed its willingness to cooperate in this development. Our interest stems from the belief that world peace will be served if these countries remain members of the community of free nations. This area is of direct importance to the United States as a source of essential imports and as a market for our products. Moreover, it has in the past been, and will need to be on an even larger scale in the future, a source of basic foodstuffs for other parts of the world. Improved economic conditions in this area may thus be essential to the restoration of a healthy world economy. The U.S. interest would thus prompt the continuation of our cooperative attitude toward the Colombo Plan. Such a spirit can contribute much to the prospects for successful accomplishment of the development objectives in South and Southeast Asia.

• *Mr. Malenbaum, author of the above article, is chief of the Investment and Economic Development Staff, Department of State. He served as U.S. representative to the Officials' Meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee at Karachi, Pakistan, in March 1952.*

## First Anniversary of Japanese Peace Conference

*Statement by John M. Allison  
Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs*

Press release 702 dated September 8

One year ago today, 48 nations and Japan signed in San Francisco a treaty of peace which brought to an official end the war in the Pacific. This treaty came into force on April 28 of this year, upon the deposit of the required number of instru-

ments of ratification with the U.S. Government in Washington.

The United States insisted that the Treaty of Peace with Japan should be a liberal one—one which would contain promise for the future and not the seeds of future wars. This treaty broke new ground in international relations. As the distinguished Foreign Minister of Pakistan said, it opens "to Japan the door passing through which it may take up among its fellow sovereign nations a position of dignity, honor, and equality. . . . It is evidence of a new departure in the relations of the East and the West as they have subsisted during the last few centuries."

I congratulate Japan on this anniversary. May she live in peace with all nations and all nations live in peace with her.

## Compensation to Jewish Victims of Nazi Persecution

*Press Conference Statement by Secretary Acheson*

Press release 713 dated September 10

The United States Government is pleased that the negotiations which have been in progress at The Hague between representatives of the German Federal Republic on the one hand and representatives of Israel and the Conference on Jewish Material Claims on the other have resulted in the agreements which were signed in Luxembourg today. It is the hope of the United States that these agreements will be ratified without delay.

It is significant that the first article of the Constitution of the new Germany is a recognition of the dignity and the inalienable rights of man. The resolution adopted by the German Bundestag on September 27, 1951, is a moving tribute to the determination of the German people that those rights shall not again be violated and to the decision to purge themselves of the wrongs inflicted on millions of innocent people. The agreements concluded today are a material demonstration of the resolve of the vast majority of the German people to make redress for the sufferings of the Jews under the Nazis.

## Current Legislation on Foreign Policy

*Third Special Report on the Operations and Policies of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Message From the President of the United States Transmitting the Third Special Report on the Operations and Policies of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Accordance With Section 4 (b) (6) of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act. This Report Covers*

the 2-Year Period Ending March 31, 1952. H. doc. 522, 82d Cong., 2d sess. 18 pp.

St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. Communication From the President of the United States Transmitting the Application to the International Joint Commission, Dated June 30, 1952, for Approval of Certain Works in Connection With the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, and an Exchange of Notes, of the Same Date, Between the Canadian Government and our Own Concerning the St. Lawrence Project. H. doc. 528, 82d Cong., 2d sess. 9 pp.

Sixth Semiannual Report of United States Advisory Commission on Information. Letter From Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Information, Department of State, Transmitting the Sixth Semiannual Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Information, Dated July 1952, Pursuant to Section 603 of Public Law 402, Eightieth Congress, An Act To Promote the Better Understanding of the United States Among the Peoples of the World and To Strengthen Cooperative International Relations. H. doc. 526, 82d Cong., 2d sess. 30 pp.

The Katyn Forest Massacre. Hearings Before the Select Committee To Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, on Investigation of the Murder of Thousands of Polish Officers in the Katyn Forest Near Smolensk, Russia. Part 5 (Frankfurt, Germany) April 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26, 1952. Committee print. 392 pp.

Report on Audit of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs For the Year Ended June 30, 1951. Letter From the Comptroller General of the United States Transmitting the Audit of the Financial Statements and Accounts of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs for the Year Ended June 30, 1951, Pursuant to Government Corporation Control Act (31 U. S. C. 841). H. doc. 491, 82d Cong., 2d sess. 15 pp.

Repeal of 3 Cents Per Pound Processing Tax on Coconut Oil. Hearing Before the Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session on H. R. 6292, A Bill To Amend Certain Sections of Chapter 21 of the Internal Revenue Code, and for Other Purposes. Committee print. 118 pp.

## Appraising the Growth of the Point Four Program

*Statement by Secretary Acheson*

Press release 707 dated September 8

Two years ago today, at the direction of the President, the State Department assumed responsibility for the operation of the Point Four Program of technical cooperation and economic development.

On that occasion, the President stated that—

This program will provide means needed to translate our words of friendship into deeds. . . . By patient, diligent effort, levels of education can be raised and standards of health improved to enable the people of such areas to make better use of their resources. Their land can be made to yield better crops by the use of improved seeds and more modern methods of cultivation. Roads and other transportation and communication facilities can be developed to enable products to be moved to areas

where they are needed most. Rivers can be harnessed to furnish water for farms and cities and electricity for factories and homes.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the potentials which the President saw in Point Four 2 years ago are becoming realities today. The Program is in action in 35 countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. More than 1,200 "shirt-sleeve diplomats" from all walks of American life are joining forces with some 13,000 foreign technicians in the attack on hunger, poverty, and disease. Each project is based on whole-hearted collaboration, and no project is begun unless the requirement of freely given and freely received cooperation is met.

The outpourings of the propaganda machine in Moscow and in the satellites would have the world believe that the United States is engaged in "warmongering" and that its Point Four Program is an "imperialist plot." Point Four is indeed a joint declaration by the United States and its partners in the free world attacking conditions of poverty and stagnation which have thwarted the will to a better life. This is the only kind of "warmongering" that Moscow and its spokesmen can cite with truth.

The fact that Communist criticism of the Program has grown in intensity with each succeeding month is one indication that Point Four is achieving results, solid visible results in terms of better crops, safe water supplies, new health services, more schools and teachers, and many signs of local initiative among village people.

There are many examples of the way in which millions of people regard Point Four cooperation. I mention one recently told me by Stanley Andrews, the Administrator of the Program. A letter signed by the elders of an Iranian village reads:

Lately an organization under the name of Point Four has started beneficent activities for the welfare of our people in different parts of this country.

Among these parts, poor and knowledge-loving people of the village of Dastgerd-Hhiar have been taken into consideration by this organization. Our preliminary school has been completed and a new Health Center according to modern methods and principles of hygiene has been constructed.

Therefore, we, the people of the village of Dastgerd, express our gratitude to the well wishing and philanthropic people and Government of the United States of America and the Point Four Organization in Iran; and hopefully request that other requirements of our thankful people which come under [the] Point Four Program will be considered by this organization and thus increase our ever sincere gratitude.

While Point Four does not seek gratitude, it welcomes concrete indications that its Program is steadily strengthening the human and material resources of the free world and encouraging the growth of free institutions through which peoples can develop their respective cultures and ways of life.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Sept. 25, 1950, p. 499.

## Point Four's Impact on the Middle East

*Remarks by Cedric H. Seager  
Chief, Iran Division, Technical Cooperation Administration<sup>1</sup>*

The Middle East is probably as good a testing ground as any to prove the work of Point Four. That its impact has already been felt has become apparent, as I will seek presently to demonstrate. But before I do that, let me try and clear away some of the misconceptions about the work of Point Four that keep cropping up time and again.

We do not seek to woo the underdeveloped peoples of the world with our money. We are not, in fact, a big-money program. We do not seek to buy alliances. We do not try to ram our culture down other people's throats. We do not attempt to make nations in our own image.

We do not pretend to be other than the fortunate heirs of a great tradition; a tradition of freedom and independence that itself stems from the area which we are gathered here today to discuss. Our aim is to share that heritage with other free peoples of the world.

We do acknowledge, humbly, the privileges that are ours. We do recognize, without boastfulness, that in an incredibly short space of time we have attained to the highest living standard ever enjoyed by any people anywhere. The disparity between our wealth and the desperate poverty that prevails in the Middle East, and over so large a part of the world, is one reason why Point Four has assumed obligations aiming toward the closing of that gap. A further reason is the menace of communism, which exploits misery and feeds on despair.

Point Four was born of our realization that want is a scourge not to be tolerated in a free world; that the ramparts of liberty are not proof against the injustice of needless poverty and curable disease; and that our way of life, born of free enterprise and richly endowed by the marvels of modern science, is a way of life open to all mankind once intolerance and tyranny and naked greed are unmasked.

<sup>1</sup> Made on Aug. 28 before the American Political Science Association at Buffalo, N. Y.

Our recognition of the factors making for hunger and want is shared by the great majority of mankind. Ours is no new discovery. As Dr. Henry G. Bennett<sup>2</sup> often said: "A billion people have found a window into the Twentieth Century. It is up to us to provide them a door."

In the area of which we speak, which is the threshold to Communist Russia, lives a multitude of fine people. Progress has passed them by. Imperial subjugation for long centuries held them in thrall. The evils of feudalism perpetuated their misery. In their awakening consciousness of the needless want which they have so long suffered, they are ripe for revolution or for the orderly, sustained process of dignified evolution. Communism seeks to exploit the bloodier means of revolt; it is our privilege to demonstrate the fruits of a more orderly growth, a less explosive escape from the shackles of poverty and disease.

If there is one thing that we insistently proclaim, it is our detestation of communism and all its works. We make no secret of that, as we labor in the Middle East or wherever in the world hunger and despair offer fertile soil for the poisonous seeds of communism.

We know that if the door of opportunity is left closed for a billion people, despair will grow as freedom dies. Those things that have made us great provide the key. Men need not die in their thirties; a nation's per capita income can be immeasurably increased by the application of modern skills to industry; starvation can be replaced by plenitude if all that we have learned in our country of improved agricultural methods can be applied in countries where such knowledge is still a closed book.

The Communists decry our aims because they fear them. Their very fears confirm the worth of what we are doing. The measure of our success will be the measure of their failure.

<sup>2</sup> Former Administrator of the Technical Cooperation Administration, who died in a plane crash in Iran on Dec. 22, 1951.

### **At the Village Level**

We have already established a partnership of common enterprise with the nations of the Middle East. We are working together. On the shores of the Caspian Sea, right up against the frontier of Russia, our men and women are working at the village level with the men and women of Iran. By technical training and by demonstration, the people are being taught how to combat disease, how to raise their standards of personal and community hygiene, and how to eradicate malaria and other scourges.

At the village level again, through the development of water resources and by demonstrating improved agricultural methods, the fruitful seasons are being lengthened, rotation practices introduced, and the benefits of mixed farming exemplified.

All this, on the doorstep of Russia. All this, where people have been stirred to renewed anger by economic disaster. All this, uninterruptedly while crowds rioted in the streets of Tehran. Contrary to belief in many quarters, our labors in Iran have been unimpeded by the succeeding crises of recent months. We have good reason to believe, in the light of recent experience, that they will continue unimpeded.

Does that argue that the impact of Point Four is having effect? I think that it does.

Is this surprising? I think that it is not.

There is a movement growing in the Middle East that is of the very essence of our philosophy. Dr. Bennett preached it; Dean Acheson proclaimed it. On the occasion of the Food and Agriculture Organization Conference in Rome in November 1951, Secretary Acheson said:

You are talking here, you are working here dealing with resolutions on the subject of land reforms. That is a matter which we in the Department of State have believed is absolutely foremost in our whole international relations. . . . Landownership reform alone is not enough. Along with it have to go institutions for credit, proper taxation and things with which you are more familiar than I. It is in this front in which we really meet and grapple with the misleading slogans of communism, and therefore we in the Department of State have from the very beginning urged that this matter of land reform should become a primary objective within our own country, in our international relations and in those areas of the world which are now the battleground between freedom and communism. . . .

### **Conference on Land Reform**

In the fall of that same year, 1951, a short 12 months ago, Point Four had helped sponsor an international conference on land tenure at the University of Wisconsin, attended by political and agricultural leaders from all over the world.

For most of these eminent leaders, many from the Middle East, land reform was a wishful dream

12 months ago. Where does it stand today? Read your newspaper headlines. It has been front-page stuff these past few weeks.

Last spring, a Point Four expert spent 9 weeks in Iran working out with the Royal Commission on Crown Lands Distribution a detailed plan for enabling peasants on the lands of the Shah to become independent landowners. The program will eventually install 50,000 peasants on farms of their own. Principles of supervised credit, cooperative services, training, demonstration, and organized self-help are embodied in the plan. Premier Mossadegh has recently announced his support of a land-reform program of even greater magnitude; and we have concluded with his Government a project calling for joint support of the Development Bank to extend low interest-bearing credit to peasants and to establish, in cooperation with the Ford Foundation and the Near East Foundation, a supervisor training school for the tremendous task that now awaits us at the village level. An American will direct that school and an American financial adviser will assist the Development Bank in carrying out that vast scheme. Prominent in this movement for land reform in Iran, and member of the Crown Land Distribution Committee, is Assadollah Alam, who attended the Wisconsin conference.

### **Significant News From Egypt**

Significant news comes out of Egypt, where momentous events have recently taken place. Clean-up reformer, General Naguib, has declared that land reform is Egypt's most imperative and pressing necessity. The time is too early to guess at the progress that surely will be made, but the intention is clear and the announcement bears the ring of sincerity. In Cairo at this time, to give guidance as needed, is Point Four's leading land-reform expert; it is no accident that he happens to be there at this auspicious moment.

Back of General Naguib, a leader in General Naguib's land-reform movement is Mohamet Abdel Wahab Ezzat, who also attended the Wisconsin conference.

Is it a coincidence that these events have taken place during the period of Point Four's application to the problems of the Middle East? To stamp them as coincidence would be to belittle the value of the doctrines we proclaim; and, of course, they are not coincidence. They are the very essence of our impact upon the Middle East, the first rays of the dawn of the era to which we aspire.

I could speak of education, natural resources, and other programs in Saudi Arabia. I could speak of our work for the lonely and oppressed who have found sanctuary in Israel. I could speak of public health and economic and agricultural development in Iraq. I could speak of water resource and hydroelectric power projects

\* BULLETIN of Feb. 11, 1952, p. 200.

in Lebanon.<sup>4</sup> I could speak of irrigation and agricultural extension in Jordan. I could speak of projects and plans and American men and women at work and of enthusiasms shared, of students and leaders brought to this country, of lasting friendships made, and of the sum of all our early efforts—all adding up to a profound impact on the Middle East, that area so vital to our civilization.

But, above all, I take pride in the worth of the effort we are putting forward; an effort that is cast in the best of American traditions; an effort that will end, though we know not when, in the sure downfall of communism and the birth of a more glorious age.

## **Point Four Health Units Reach Iran**

Press release 722 dated September 12

Three large mobile health coaches, fully equipped as clinical laboratories for the use of the joint Point Four-Ministry of Health program in Iran, were displayed September 10 in Tehran.

The traveling units were inspected by the Iranian Minister of Health, Dr. Saber Farman Farmanian; Senator Adl-Almolk Dadgar of Ghor gan; Point Four Director William E. Warne, and various other guests and officials of the Iranian Government and members of the Point Four Health Division.

Dr. Farman Farmanian said:

My Ministry and the Iranian Government express thanks for another example of the continuing help Point Four has extended to the development of Iran. The most important element of the health program has been the cooperation and complete understanding between Point Four and the Ministry. Through this cooperation many Iranian villages lacking public-health facilities will have access to improved health conditions for the first time through such activities as mobile health. However, this represents only the beginning of an expanded public-health program and future smaller units will cover the country where larger units cannot travel.

Senator Dadgar said:

Iranians will always remember what America is doing through Point Four to assist in the development and improvement of Iran by the factual evidence of projects like the mobile health program. We can learn from the American example of humanity. They are willing to leave the comforts of their own country to assist others in Asia, Africa, and throughout the world to better living conditions. America, through Point Four, is a living example of showing people how to help themselves.

The mobile units will be assigned to the Tabriz, Babolsar, and Tehran regions for five primary purposes: health survey, treatment, inoculations, public-health education, and initiation later of the

country-wide health program with permanent clinics.

Unit teams include a doctor, a nurse, a midwife, a laboratory supervisor and assistant, a records assistant, and a driver. The vehicles contain an air-conditioned laboratory, dispensary, and examination-inoculation room with complete equipment. The units will travel in provincial areas, stopping at centrally located villages which do not have medical facilities. They will show films and posters, distribute pamphlets, and demonstrate improved health conditions.

The primary emphasis in the Point Four health program in Iran is to train Iranians in modern public-health methods. The program is carried out in complete cooperation with the Ministries of Health in the ten *ostans* (provinces). Point Four furnishes technical and administrative assistance and provides equipment. The Health Ministry also supplies technical personnel.

Comprehensive training under the program includes:

Nurses—on-the-job training

Laboratory technicians—training at the University

Sanitation aides—boys working in public health, water treatment, DDT spraying, bathhouse construction in villages

Health visitors—girls instructed in hygiene practices in villages

## **Iranian Student Assistance**

### **Continued by Point Four**

Press release 723 dated September 12

More than 800 Iranian students will be able to enroll in American colleges this fall under a continuation of the student-assistance program inaugurated last spring through Point Four.<sup>1</sup> This program was established to provide dollar exchange to students whose normal source of funds had been cut off by currency restrictions which the Government of Iran felt it necessary to adopt because of the shortage of dollars in Iran.

An agreement extending the project for a year, to August 31, 1953, has been signed in Tehran by William E. Warne, Director of Technical Cooperation in Iran, and Mehdi Azar, Iranian Minister of Education.

The parents and sponsors of the students make rial deposits in Iran to the Technical Cooperation Administration for dollars which TCA provides in the United States to the students, at an established rate of exchange. The rial deposits are used by TCA in Iran for local costs of Point Four projects in that country. The plan provides the only means of keeping most of the Iranian students in American colleges, as dollar exchange would not otherwise be available.

<sup>4</sup> For an article on this subject, see Department of State FIELD REPORTER, July-August issue, p. 16.

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Apr. 28, 1952, p. 659.

Under this program, dollars are provided for maintenance, tuition, and collateral educational expenses to Iranian students who meet set eligibility requirements. Most of the Iranian students are studying technical subjects such as agriculture, engineering, and medicine. From their ranks will come much of the technical and professional leadership that will be required in Iran in the years ahead.

On the occasion of signing the new agreement, Minister Azar said:

I wish to express the appreciation, not only of my ministry and Government, but also of the parents and relatives of young people directly benefited. Most Iranian students now go to the United States, whereas they once went to Europe. This will bind us closer in lasting friendship.

Approximately 700 thousand dollars was utilized in a similar exchange program under the first agreement, which covered the period of March 21 through August 31, 1952.

Each participating student is checked by the Ministry of Education in Iran, which issues a certificate of eligibility to the sponsor, enabling him to deposit funds to the student's account. The Near East Foundation in New York City obtains from the college a certification that the student is enrolled and in good standing. The Near East Foundation, acting as an agent under contract with TCA, actually makes the dollar payments to students. It is expected that about 1,800,000 dollars will be disbursed through the current year's program.

U.S. Ambassador Loy W. Henderson said, in announcing the extension of the agreement:

Among the many programs the United States has undertaken in Iran, the student aid program is one of the best accepted and most appreciated. I feel certain that these students will be good citizens of Iran and will assist in building up the country on their return.

The students are attending approximately 200 different schools, but more than half of them are enrolled at New York U., Columbia U., Syracuse U., U. of California, U.C.L.A., Los Angeles City College, U. of Southern California, Indiana U., the U. of Nebraska, Utah State Agricultural College, and the U. of Maryland.

## Point Four Study on Key Land Problems

Press release 699 dated September 5

Means of furnishing credit to increase ownership of land by individuals in underdeveloped countries and to improve methods for its use are under close study as a Point Four project. Representatives of 34 countries throughout the world will complete 2 months of investigations in the United States with a series of meetings with

Washington officials held from September 29 to October 2.

The effort to make clear every phase of credit operations pertinent to progressive transition of land ownership and operation is a project of the Technical Cooperation Administration of the Department of State and the Mutual Security Agency.

It began on August 4 at the University of California, in Berkeley, as the International Conference on Agricultural and Cooperative Credit. Workshop discussions, addresses, and field trips will continue until September 13. The delegates then will divide into two groups to study regional aspects in the specific locales. One will proceed to Washington via Salt Lake City, Utah, Denver, Colo., and Clarkesville and Chattanooga, Tenn.; and the other via Phoenix, Ariz., New Orleans, La., and Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

On Monday, September 29, they will meet with Stanley Andrews, Point Four Administrator, John Kenney, Mutual Security Agency deputy director, and members of their staffs. In the afternoon they will discuss related questions with Secretary Charles F. Brannan and other officials of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and R. M. Evans, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board.

For the next 2 days, meeting at the Department of Agriculture South Building, they will hear officials discuss agricultural economics, rural electrification, and operations of the World Bank, Farmers Home Administration, Farm Credit Administration, and related agencies.

On Thursday a morning session will be held at the Federal Security Administration Building to hear spokesmen from the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions.

A visit to the White House, where the delegates are scheduled to be greeted by President Truman, will complete their Washington stay.

The visitors will number 62. Among countries represented at the Washington meetings will be Afghanistan, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Honduras, India, Iran, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, El Salvador, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Mexico, Panama, the Philippines, Syria, Uruguay, and Vietnam.

The Conference is devoted to assembling information on organization and functions of agricultural credit institutions and facilities; the extent to which present facilities are adequate; and desirable measures to improve the services of rural credit in the countries concerned.

Emphasis throughout is being placed on credit as a means of increasing farm production and income as a basis for better farm living; financing for production needs and for the marketing and processing of farm products; the place and importance of cooperative enterprise; and the close ties between credit cooperatives and other types of cooperation.

Specific subjects on the agenda are:

- Organization and functions of the agricultural credit institutions and credit problems of each of the participating countries.
- Raising of capital and loanable funds.
- The relation of agricultural credit to economic stability and fiscal policy.
- The place of farm and home planning and supervision in the extension of credit.
- The procedure of handling loan funds from time of issuance from original source or agency to return of funds to such agency.
- The most practicable and reasonable interest rates for different types of loans.
- Relationships and problems involved in extension of production credit and the interrelationship with consumer loans.
- Financing land redistribution programs.
- The most efficient procedure for obtaining small loans at a reasonable rate.

The present Conference developed from the World Land Tenure Conference, a Point Four project conducted in the autumn of 1951 at the University of Wisconsin to prepare for greater international cooperation on land-tenure problems.

## **Unsettled or Unpaid Claims**

### **Against Cuba**

Press release 695 dated September 4

The American Embassy at Habana has informed the Department of State that the Tribunal of Accounts of the Republic of Cuba has been directed to conduct a survey to determine the amount of the Cuban floating debt and that, in this connection, the Cuban Government recently announced that all persons purporting to have claims against that Government which arose prior to October 10, 1940, should now submit their claims during a specified period of time to the tribunal for audit and determination.

The Department of State, therefore, recommends that all unsettled or unpaid claims of American nationals against the Cuban Government, whether or not previously submitted, which arose prior to October 10, 1940, with the exception of those claims cases that have been adjudicated in the Cuban courts, should be submitted to the Tribunal of Accounts in order that they may receive consideration. The Tribunal of Accounts should be addressed as follows: Comisión Depuradora y Liquidadora de la Deuda Flotante, Dirección de Secretaría, Registros y Archivos del Tribunal de Cuentas, Calle 23 numero 55, Vedado, La Habana, Cuba.

The Comisión Depuradora y Liquidadora de la Deuda Flotante (Committee for the Clarification and Liquidation of the Floating Debt) is the agency which will study and pass upon the claims.

It is composed of three members of the Tribunal of Accounts and has been created to consider all matters relating to the audit and determination of the Cuban floating debt.

The final date fixed by the Cuban Government for the reception of claims is February 5, 1953. Claimants who have previously filed with the Cuban Government claims which have not been adjudicated by the Cuban courts nor adjusted should request the agency of the Cuban Government to which their claims were submitted to return those claims to them. When claimants have obtained the return of their claims, or evidence, they should amend them to comply with present instructions issued by the Cuban Government for the preparation and submission of claims. Copies of the new instructions are being mailed by the Department of State to all American nationals who are indicated by its records to have claims pending against the Cuban Government which arose prior to October 10, 1940, and which have not been adjudicated in the Cuban courts. Any claimant who does not receive a copy of the new instructions may obtain a copy by communicating with the Department of State, Office of the Legal Adviser, Washington 25, D. C.

It should be noted that the final date for the reception of claims by the tribunal is February 5, 1953, and claimants are urged to prepare and submit their amended claims with a sufficient margin of time to assure their delivery to the tribunal prior to that date.

## **Effective Date of Venezuelan Trade Agreement**

Press release 720 dated September 11

The Supplementary Trade Agreement between the United States and Venezuela, which was signed at Caracas, August 28, 1952, will become effective October 11, 1952.<sup>1</sup> This agreement supplements and amends the Trade Agreement of 1939 between the two countries.

Article 13 in the new agreement provides that it shall enter into force 30 days after the exchange of a proclamation of the agreement by the President of the United States and an instrument of ratification by the Government of the United States of Venezuela.

Dr. Aureliano Otañez, Minister Counselor and Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the Venezuelan Embassy, and Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Edward G. Miller, Jr., exchanged the documents.

<sup>1</sup> For text of Department's announcement describing terms of the new agreement, together with a message from the President to the Congress explaining certain petroleum concessions in the agreement, see BULLETIN of Sept. 15, 1952, p. 400.

## Collective Knowledge for a Better World

by Howland H. Sargeant  
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs<sup>1</sup>

The United States is itself a young nation. The roots of our people, however, go back to many lands. There is not one nation represented here today that some American does not call "home." These are good Americans, none better. Their love for this their adopted country is no less deep because they remember the "old country" with affection.

New York City itself has been called the master melting pot. According to the latest available census figures, the population of New York represents 27 different major nationalities. Within the family circle, the people speak exactly that number of languages.

Your inheritance is ours. We share its treasures. If we think we have, ourselves, something to offer, it is as a son or daughter bringing home their treasures to add to the family store.

The museums of today open their doors to the people. They have become valued and recognized educational tools rather than mere repositories of the treasures of the past. And the people have responded.

It is estimated that in this country 50 million persons visit our museums annually. This, out of a population of 150 million, is, I think, good. It could, however, be better. One of the things we seek to learn in these seminars is how to make the museum more a part of the average citizen's education—how we all can profit more fully from what you have to offer.

Over the past few decades the world has moved so fast that we have had to revise our thinking. The miracle of today is the commonplace of tomorrow. Time has come to mean less and less.

For example, one of the most popular exhibits

in the Washington museums is the "Spirit of St. Louis," the plane in which Charles Lindbergh flew the Atlantic in 1927. . . . Today, 25 years later, the average boy or girl sees that flight as commonplace. Thirty-three hours and 30 minutes to fly the Atlantic! What's so wonderful about that!

Last month a British "jet" flew the Atlantic in a little over 3 hours and made the return trip in just about the same time. The total flying time, if I remember correctly, was exactly 7 hours and 59 minutes.

My favorite Washington newspaper covered the story in three or four paragraphs. It was news, of course, but nothing like the Lindbergh story. Nothing like the breathless excitement of the world over that event. Lindbergh was, and deserved to be, a world hero. The newspapers printed column after column, giving the most minute details of the flight. We ate up every word.

I can't even remember the name of the pilot of the "jet."

And this, remember, in just 25 years. Museum visitors who see the Lindbergh plane think of the "past" in these terms. For the high-school boy or girl of today that flight is ancient history.

Some years ago, poking around in a museum file, I ran across a story of a Chinese—well, I suppose I should call him an aeronautical engineer—who perfected a plane in the 7th century A.D. It flew, too. His emperor ordered his head cut off. The contraption, he ruled, was too dangerous. Why, men could fly over towns and farmlands and drop rocks and things on the people below. No one would be safe.

Many of us, I think, can sympathize with the emperor. Our progress, material-wise, has outstripped our ability to control the use of the fruits of our endeavor. The danger he saw has become a reality. We do use the airplane to drop "things" and they are not rocks.

<sup>1</sup> Excerpts from an address made before the International Seminar on the Role of Museums in Education at Brooklyn, N.Y., on Sept. 15 and released to the press (No. 726) on the same date.

We also use the airplane in a great many useful ways. Few of us would be willing to discard it.

The difficulty lies with us—the people who have produced the plane and other man-made miracles.

### **The Science of Living Together**

We have made very little progress in the science of living together. We rely on old formulas, formulas proved untrustworthy over the ages. War, of course, is an old formula. It has brought misery and destruction upon mankind from the beginning. It has no place in the twentieth century.

Peace was the primary objective of those who wrote the Charter of the United Nations—"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors."

The men and women who wrote those words were of many races and many creeds. Their single one compelling bond was their common humanity and their common determination to build a peace so strong and enduring that never again would the world be rocked by war—"which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind."

These were dedicated men and women. But they knew that they could not attain their great goal alone. They knew that the task demanded the cooperation of all nations and all peoples of good will.

To build the will to cooperate was the first problem. Each of the specialized agencies of the United Nations has contributed to the building of that will. Meeting together to handle specific problems, they have found collective action the key to success. Their specialized interests draw them together, creating a natural sympathy and understanding.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was given a more unusual and different kind of assignment. The constitution of UNESCO reads: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." UNESCO's assignment was to construct those defenses.

In handling its task UNESCO has adopted a very simple formula. Not long ago a little girl in a Washington elementary school was asked to explain, in her own words, just what UNESCO was trying to do. She said: "It is trying to help people to get to know each other." That, to me, was the perfect answer. It describes the UNESCO program exactly.

UNESCO operates on the belief that sympathy and understanding between men is their natural heritage. It believes the barriers that separate them are man-created, artificial. It proposes to break down those barriers.

The greatest barrier is ignorance. We are very

ignorant of each other, we 2 billion men and women and children living on this old planet. We have all sorts of misconceptions of each other. We have prejudices, hatreds, animosities. UNESCO believes that when we meet, face to face, many of these misconceptions vanish. Prejudices, hatreds, animosities are forgotten.

One of the purposes of gatherings such as this is to bring men and women of many lands together—to help them "to get to know each other." There have been other similar gatherings. There will be many more.

"Getting to know each other" is not, of course, the sole purpose of these seminars. Nor of the other gatherings sponsored by UNESCO.

### **No Monopoly on Knowledge**

No one nation and no one people has a monopoly on knowledge. Each of us can learn from the other. One of the purposes of the United Nations set forth in article 1 of chapter 1 of the Charter, is "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character."

All of us, all the member nations of UNESCO, have economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems. These are human problems, old as the human race. The day may never come when we have solved them completely, but improvement—vast improvement—is not only possible but imperative.

These problems—all of them—carry the seeds of war. The attainment of the United Nation's great goal demands that they be reduced to manageable proportions.

Hunger, misery, and despair, these are, as President Truman has said, the ancient enemies of mankind. To war against these, we, the peaceful peoples of the world, are united. This is the only war in which we all can gain and none lose. It is a war we can win with the tools we now have at hand.

The keenest of these tools is knowledge. But it has to be our collective knowledge. Not one of us is smart enough to win the fight alone.

The role of the museum in this war is vital. In practically every field of world knowledge, the museums play a notable part. They are, primarily, storehouses of world knowledge—knowledge about the minerals, rocks, fossils of the solid earth, the vegetation on its surface—the vast assemblage of life on land and sea.

This is learning material for millions of minds, regardless of race or creed, regardless of barriers of language or national frontiers. Under the roof of the museum all men are brothers—members of the great human family.

The past, to use a favorite quotation, is prologue. The museums offer us the prologue to what can be—what must be—a better and brighter world.

## **General Assembly Consideration of Korean Question**

Press release 714 dated September 10

*In answer to questions regarding reports that the United States would take the initiative in seeking United Nations General Assembly consideration of the Korean question, Secretary Acheson at his press conference on September 10 made the following extemporaneous statement:*

As far as I know, these reports grew out of a misunderstanding of what Ambassador Ernest Gross said in a United Nations television interview.

The situation, of course, is that the General Assembly meets on the 14th of October. Now one of the items on the agenda of the General Assembly, which has to appear there and regularly appears there, is the reports of certain commissions of the United Nations. Two of those commissions have to do with Korea—the rehabilitation one and the one on the political side. The reports of those commissions bring up the question of Korea.

Of course, we are preparing our positions on all matters which are likely, and some that perhaps are unlikely, to come before the United Nations. In doing that, we try to clarify our own ideas as to what it is that the Assembly can usefully do on any of these matters. After we get our own ideas reasonably clarified we begin to discuss the matter with friendly delegations, get their ideas, and see if we can reach some kind of meeting of minds on how to deal with the situation.

That, I believe, is what is happening. I believe that that is all that is happening. But I think Mr. Gross talked about this in a way which led to some misconstruction. I cannot forecast the attitude which we will take. As I say, it is under consideration at the present time. It will undoubtedly be very much affected by the events which transpire in the next 6 weeks.

## **Representatives Appointed to General Assembly**

White House press release dated September 12

The President on September 12 named by recess appointment the following persons to be representatives of the United States to the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held at New York, beginning October 14, 1952:

Warren R. Austin, Vermont

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, New York

Theodore Francis Green, U.S. Senator from the State of Rhode Island

Alexander Wiley, U.S. Senator from the State of Wisconsin

Ernest A. Gross, New York

The following are named to be alternate representatives of the United States:

Philip C. Jessup, of Connecticut  
Benjamin V. Cohen, of New York  
Charles A. Sprague, of Oregon  
Edith S. Sampson, of Illinois  
Isador Lubin, of New York

The Secretary of State will be head of the delegation, and in his absence Ambassador Austin, as senior representative of the United States, will serve as chairman of the delegation.

The selection of Senator Green, a senior Democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Wiley, ranking Republican member of the Committee, continues the practice of maintaining bipartisan congressional representation on the U.S. delegation, with members of Congress not up for re-election being given the appointments. At the fifth session of the General Assembly at New York in 1950, Senator Sparkman, of Alabama, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, served as representatives on the delegation of the United States. At the sixth session of the General Assembly, held in Paris in 1951, Congressman Michael J. Mansfield, of Montana, and Congressman John M. Vorys, of Ohio, served as representatives on the delegation of the United States.

## **U. S. Delegations to International Conferences**

### **Conference of Artists (UNESCO)**

On September 11 the Department of State announced that under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the first International Conference of Artists will be held at Venice, September 22-28. Participation is to be limited to 300 creative artists either designated by governments that are members of UNESCO, sent by interested international organizations, or invited to attend as observers. The United States, which has been invited to participate in the Conference by the Director General of UNESCO, will be represented by the following participants:

#### *Chairman*

Thornton Wilder, Hamden, Conn.

#### *Participants*

Valentine Davies, Twentieth Century Fox, Hollywood, Calif.

Dorothea Greenbaum, New York City

George L. K. Morris, New York City

William Schuman, President, Juilliard School of Music, New York City

Allen Tate, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.

Ralph Walker, Voorhees, Walker, Foley & Smith, Architectural Engineers, New York City

At the Fifth Session of the UNESCO General Conference in 1950, delegates from 56 countries agreed that in cultural activities "UNESCO's first task is to foster international relations by arranging for thinkers, writers, and artists and their ideas to move freely across national frontiers." It was at this same session and in this spirit that the United States introduced the proposal for an international arts conference, which was unanimously approved.

The purpose of the Conference is to study the practical conditions required to insure the freedom of the artist and to seek means of associating artists more closely with UNESCO's work. The results of the Conference could be significant in terms of aligning the artist of today with the principles which govern the United Nations' work.

There will be two types of meetings during the Conference: plenary meetings, attended by all delegates, at which a distinguished expert in each of the various branches of art will read an introductory paper; and simultaneous meetings of five sections, representing music, the theater, literature, the cinema, and the visual arts, including painting, sculpture, and architecture, at which the specific problems of each branch of art will be considered.

The expositions at the plenary meetings are to have a common background and a central theme—"The Artist in Contemporary Society." The points to be covered by each of the principal speakers will include the artist in relation to the public (education and problems of the critic), to the public authorities (censorship, political pressure, and the difficult situation of the artist in exile), to the intermediary (art dealers, agents), and to each other (international organizations in the coordination of artistic undertakings).

The Conference is being held in Venice at the invitation of the Government of Italy on the occasion of the XXVIth Biennale, an international exhibition of art given every 2 years with the support of the Italian Government.

#### **Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC)**

The Department of State on September 8 announced that the Third Session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Restrictive Business Practices of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) was opened on that date at Geneva. The United States Government was represented by the following delegation:

##### *United States Representative*

Dr. Corwin D. Edwards, Director, Bureau of Industrial Economics, Federal Trade Commission

##### *Advisors*

Donald C. Blaisdell, U.S. Representative for International Organization Affairs, Geneva

Joseph Greenwald, Member of the U.S. Delegation to the Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva

The Committee was established by Ecosoc in 1951 and charged with the development of an international agreement for possible submission to governments by Ecosoc to eliminate so far as possible certain restrictive business practices. The Committee was requested to submit its proposals to Ecosoc by March 1953. The Governments of Belgium, Canada, France, India, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay are represented on the Committee. The United States sponsored the resolution establishing the Committee and defining its responsibilities.

Previous meetings were held at the U.N. Headquarters at New York in January and April 1952. During those sessions, considerable progress was made in the preliminary drafting of proposals and in reviewing information from U.N. members and specialized agencies and from other sources on restrictive business practices and on measures taken by individual member states to eliminate them and restore freedom of competition. The Committee will summarize and analyze this information for Ecosoc.

The main objective of the forthcoming meeting is the preparation of proposals on methods for implementing the Ecosoc resolution that U.N. members should act together to prevent restrictive business practices affecting international trade which restrain competition, limit access to markets, or foster monopolistic control, whenever such practices have harmful effects on the expansion of production or trade, on the economic development of underdeveloped areas, or on standards of living.<sup>1</sup> The proposals are to include a provision for the continuing consideration of problems of restrictive business practices.

The desirability of having the United States take the initiative in urging more vigorous international action to solve trade and distribution problems, which can be dealt with only on an international basis, was pointed out by the President's Materials Policy Commission in June 1952.<sup>2</sup> While it noted the progress in eliminating restrictions on the flow of commodities between nations which has been made under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Commission pointed out that such efforts need to be carried much further. The action of Ecosoc in adopting the United States proposal for setting up the *Ad Hoc* Committee to draft an international agreement on restrictive business practices was cited as a step in the right direction.

Safeguards against restrictive commercial practices which such an agreement could provide are important in furthering the policy of the United States for stimulating economic cooperation among the nations of the free world.

<sup>1</sup> For text of this resolution, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1951, p. 595.

<sup>2</sup> See H. doc. 527, vols. I, II, III, IV, and V, 82d Cong., 2d sess.

### **Committee for U. N. Study of Territorial Government**

The Department of State on September 4 announced that the first meeting of a U.N. *ad hoc* committee established to make a study of the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not self-governing convened on that date in the U.N. Headquarters at New York. The U.S. Government is represented by the following delegation:

#### *U.S. Representative*

Benjamin Gerig, Director, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

#### *Advisors*

William I. Cargo, Deputy Director, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

Mason Barr, Caribbean Division, Office of Territories, Department of the Interior

Claude G. Ross, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Bureau of United Nations Affairs, Department of State

This committee is composed of Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cuba, Denmark, France, Guatemala, Iraq, Venezuela, and the United States. It was established by the U.N. General Assembly in January 1952.

The question of the factors to be taken into account in deciding whether a territory is or is not a territory whose people have attained self-government has presented itself in one form or another since the establishment of the United Nations. At the first session of the General Assembly, the question of the further definition of non-self-governing territories was raised. Since then, this question has received increasing attention in U.N. committees because certain territories have become self-governing and are no longer being reported on.

In 1951, at the invitation of the General Assembly, the special committee on non-self-governing territories examined the question and concluded that no single factor or particular combination of factors can be decisive in every case, except that the properly and freely expressed will of the people of the territory concerned would, in all cases, be the paramount factor in deciding whether a territory has attained self-government. In submitting its report to the sixth session of the General Assembly, the committee also listed a number of factors of a geographical, political, economic, and cultural nature.

At its sixth session, the General Assembly decided to take as a basis for future study a list of basic and general factors drawn up during the Assembly session, established the *ad hoc* committee, and invited all members to transmit to the United Nations statements of their views on the "factors" question.

In its forthcoming deliberations, the *ad hoc* committee is to take into account all the infor-

mation available, including that transmitted to the United Nations on the reasons which have led certain administering members to cease transmitting information on certain of their territories.

The Committee will report to the seventh session of the General Assembly, which convenes at New York on October 14, 1952.

### **U.N. Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories**

The Department of State on September 10 announced that the U.S. delegation to the meeting of the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories will be identical to that announced *supra* for the Committee for U.N. Study of Territorial Government, with the exception that the name of Edward P. Noziglia, Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State, should be added to the previously announced list of advisers.

When the U.N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories convenes at the U.N. Headquarters in New York on September 11, it will make a detailed study of social conditions in non-self-governing territories and will review the information submitted by administering authorities on economic and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories. The Committee gave particular attention to educational development at its 1950 meeting and emphasized economic conditions and development at its 1951 session.

Delegates will also discuss international collaboration in regard to economic, social, and educational conditions in these territories and the question of the future of the Committee, and will prepare a report for consideration by the General Assembly.

The United States is a member of this Committee by virtue of the fact that it is one of the members of the United Nations transmitting information on non-self-governing territories. The composition of the Committee for 1952 is as follows: administering members—Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States; elected members—Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, and the U.S.S.R.

Under the U.N. Charter, governments administering non-self-governing territories recognize that the interests of the inhabitants of their territories are paramount and accept the obligation to promote their well-being. Administering states also assume the obligation to transmit regularly to the U.N. Secretary-General information relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are responsible.

While the Charter provided for the transmission of this information, no provision was made

for its examination. In 1946, however, the General Assembly recommended that information transmitted on non-self-governing territories be summarized by the U.N. Secretary-General and suggested that a committee be convened to examine this summary and to make recommendations to the Assembly regarding future procedures.

Later in 1946, the General Assembly established a special committee to report on the information transmitted by members in accordance with the Charter provisions and to make recommendations thereon to the next Assembly. This Committee, known as the Special Committee on Information Transmitted Under Article 73 (e) of the Charter, was composed of U.N. members transmitting such information and an equal number of members elected on as wide a geographic basis as possible. In 1947 and again in 1948 the General Assembly voted to reestablish the Committee for another year. In 1949 the Committee was reconstituted for a 3-year period with the proviso that the question of its continuation would be reconsidered in 1952. The future status of the Committee will be decided by the General Assembly at its seventh session.

#### **Executive Committee (WMO)**

On September 8 the Department of State announced that the Executive Committee of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) would hold its third session at Geneva, September 9-30, 1952, to discuss questions relative to the program and administration of the Organization. Participants from the United States are as follows:

##### *U.S. Representative*

Francis W. Reichelderfer, D.Sc., Chief, Weather Bureau,  
Department of Commerce

##### *Alternate U.S. Representative*

Arthur W. Johnson, Meteorological Attaché, American  
Consulate General, Geneva

##### *Advisers*

Donald C. Blaisdell, U.S. Representative for International  
Organization Affairs, Geneva

Norman A. Matson, Assistant Chief, International Aviation  
Section, Weather Bureau, Department of  
Commerce

Dr. Reichelderfer, who was elected President of the WMO at its First Congress held at Paris in March and April 1951, will preside over the forthcoming Committee meeting. The second session of the Executive Committee was held at Lausanne, Switzerland, October 3-24, 1951.

#### **Chemical Industries Committee (ILO)**

On September 8 the Department of State announced that the Third Session of the Chemical Industries Committee of the International Labor Office (ILO) is being held at Geneva, September

9-20, 1952. The United States delegation to this meeting is as follows:

##### **REPRESENTING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES**

###### *Delegates*

Robert M. Barnett, Economic officer (labor), American  
Legation, Bern  
C. C. Concannon, Chemical Division, National Production  
Authority, Department of Commerce

##### **REPRESENTING THE EMPLOYERS OF THE UNITED STATES**

###### *Delegates*

Howard R. Huston, Vice President, American Cyanamid  
Company  
Henry W. Johnstone, Vice President, Merck and Company, Inc.

###### *Alternate Delegate*

W. P. Gage, Vice President, Shell Chemical Corporation

##### **REPRESENTING THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES**

###### *Delegates*

Harry O'Connell, Member, International Chemical  
Workers Union, Local No. 2, American Federation of  
Labor

Joseph Joy, Vice President, United Gas, Coke, and Chemical  
Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations

The Chemical Industries Committee is one of eight industrial committees which the ILO established to consider problems in industries which are important internationally. It was created by the ILO Governing Body in 1946 and was inaugurated in Europe in 1948. It has held two sessions—Paris in 1948 and Geneva in 1950. The second session was attended by 102 representatives from 14 countries and by observers from interested international organizations, some of which have established special committees for the chemical industry.

Each of the industrial committees is composed of government, employers', and workers' delegations from a number of countries in which the industry concerned is of some importance. These committees provide machinery through which the special circumstances of the principal international industries can receive special and detailed consideration.

The first item to be considered at the 1952 session of the Chemical Industries Committee consists of a general report prepared by the ILO. This report deals with action taken in various countries in the light of conclusions of the previous sessions, steps taken by the ILO to follow up the studies and inquiries proposed by the Committee, and recent events and developments in the chemical industry. Representatives will also discuss safety and hygiene, organization of working hours, vocational training, and general problems of hours of work with particular reference to a comparison of day work and shift work.

Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, France, India, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United King-

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dom, and the United States are the original members of the Committee. Argentina and Greece were added in 1950, and the Federal Republic of Germany, which has a rapidly developing chemical industry, was made a member by action of the ILO Governing Body in November 1951.

### **International Civil Aviation Organization**

The Department of State on September 9 announced that on that date the International Civil Aviation Organization (Icao) would convene a special conference at Rome for the completion of a convention on damage caused by foreign aircraft to third parties on the surface. This convention is designed to replace the Rome Convention of 1933 concerning the unification of certain rules relating to damage of this nature and the Brussels Protocol of 1938 regulating certain insurance aspects of the 1933 Convention.

The United States Government will be represented at the Conference by the following delegation:

#### *Chairman*

Emory T. Nunneley, Jr., General Counsel, Civil Aeronautics Board

#### *Members*

G. Nathan Calkins, Jr., Chief, International Rules Division, General Counsel's Office, Civil Aeronautics Board

H. Alberta Colclaser, Assistant Chief, Aviation Policy Staff, Department of State

Richard E. Elwell, General Counsel, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Department of Commerce

#### *Adviser*

Edward C. Sweeney, professional staff member, Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee

The draft convention which the Conference will consider is the product of several years' intensive study by lawyers under the auspices of ICAO. In 1951 the draft convention was circulated to interested governments and international organizations by the Council of ICAO, which requested that states members of ICAO comment on the draft and submit suggestions for its revision. The Conference will discuss the suggestions made by governments, together with the final ICAO draft.

The main features of the draft convention are its provisions on (1) system of liability; (2) extent of liability; (3) security for operators' liability; and (4) provisions for suits in actions arising under the convention to be brought in the courts of the place where the damage occurred.

Under the terms of the proposed convention, absolute liability for any damage to third parties on the surface devolves upon the operator of the aircraft causing the damage, except in specified cases of carefully defined types. However, while the aircraft operator has absolute liability, the draft convention includes a formula for the limita-

tion of liability based upon the weight of the aircraft causing the damage. The proposed maximum amount which an operator could be obliged to pay under normal circumstances is the equivalent of \$663,360. In contrast, the top limit in the original Rome Convention is the equivalent of \$132,672.

The proposed convention would provide that states may require the operator of a foreign aircraft to cover his potential liability by insurance or some other acceptable security. In this connection, the ICAO Council has suggested that the limitation of liability not be so high as to cause the cost of third-party insurance to become an excessive burden on international civil aviation, but yet be high enough to cover fully compensation to third parties in all but extremely rare catastrophic accidents.

The draft convention further provides that any suits with regard to damages for which liability arises as provided in the convention shall be brought in the courts of the country where the damage occurred. Since assets to satisfy a judgment may not be in that jurisdiction, the draft convention provides that the courts of other countries parties to the convention will grant execution of such judgments. Under the draft convention, however, the courts of a nation where execution is sought are entitled to refuse to grant execution upon a number of stated grounds.

### **Seminar on Role of Museums (UNESCO)**

The Department of State on September 12 announced that an International Seminar on the Role of Museums in Education will be held under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, Science, and History, New York, from September 14 to October 12, 1952. The U.S. Government will be represented by the following participants:

William H. Bristow, Director, Bureau of Curriculum Research, Curriculum Division, Board of Education, New York, N. Y.

Betty Greenfield Grossman, Educational Department, City Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.

Janet R. MacFarlane, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, N. Y.

Margaret P. Werber, Supervisor of Education, Newark Museum, Newark, N. J.

Miriam Wood, Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Ill.

This seminar, the first of its kind to be held, constitutes an important step toward developing educational activities of museums throughout the world in order to provide direct aids toward increasing international understanding.

The United States is considered to have taken the lead in adapting its museums to function as educational centers for children and adults. Many museums abroad are only now beginning to accept the view that they have a broader function than that of serving only as repositories for art ob-

jects. The U.S. delegation to the sixth General Conference of UNESCO, held at Paris in 1951, sponsored the resolution providing for the convening of the seminar.

The forthcoming discussions at New York will give U.S. specialists the opportunity to show their techniques and practices and to learn of needs and present practices abroad. More than 40 governments have accepted the invitation to send representatives to the seminar.

#### International Astronomical Union

The Department of State on September 2 announced that the International Astronomical Union (IAU) will convene in its eighth general assembly on September 4, 1952, at Rome. The U.S. Government, which adheres to the IAU through the National Research Council, will be represented by the following delegation:

##### Delegates

- Otto Struve, Ph.D., *Chairman*, Professor of Astronomy, Director of the Students' Observatory and Chairman of the Department, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.  
Ira S. Bowen, Ph.D., Director, Mount Wilson and Mount Palomar Observatories, Pasadena, Calif.  
Dirk Brouwer, Ph.D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy and Director of the Observatory, Yale Observatory, New Haven, Conn.  
Gerald M. Clemence, Head Astronomer and Director of Nautical Almanac, Naval Observatory, Department of Defense  
Jason J. Nassau, Ph.D., Professor of Astronomy and Director of Warner and Swasey Observatory, Case Institute of Technology, Cleveland, Ohio  
Fred L. Whipple, Ph.D., Professor of Astronomy and Chairman of the Department, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

##### Alternate Delegate

- Gerard P. Kuiper, Ph.D., Professor of Practical Astronomy, Yerkes Observatory, University of Chicago, Williams Bay, Wis.

The IAU is a semigovernmental organization which was established by the International Research Council in 1919 to facilitate relations between astronomers of different countries in cases where international cooperation is necessary or useful, and to promote the study of astronomy in all its branches. At sessions of the general assembly, which normally meets every 3 years, leading astronomers come together for scientific discussions on developments in the field of astronomy and to review the program of the IAU. The seventh general assembly was held at Zürich in August 1948.

During the forthcoming assembly, delegates from the 32 adhering countries will also participate in three special symposia: astrometry of faint stars, instrumentation, and stellar evolution. In addition, there will be meetings of the IAU's Joint Commission on Solar and Terrestrial Relationships and of the Joint Commission on Spectroscopy.

The IAU performs important services relating to air and sea navigation, map making, and accurate time determination. In 1922, the IAU organized a Central Bureau for Astronomical Telegrams, which has functioned as a center for exchange of information on astronomical observations. The IAU has supported the International Time Bureau since 1919 and the International Latitude Service since 1922.

One of the most important of the cooperative programs of the IAU is astronomical observation and computation and the compilation of data concerning star and planet positions. Through the facilities of the IAU, international cooperation in star observation is achieved, with members in the Southern Hemisphere contributing to the Union information on the segment of the sky which is not visible to observers in the Northern Hemisphere, and vice versa.

Information which the U. S. Naval Observatory receives from the IAU is organized and made available through three publications, *American Ephemeris*, the *American Nautical Almanac*, and the *American Air Almanac* (for aircraft navigation). The value of these publications is evidenced by the fact that every American ship on the ocean and every American plane on international flight carries one or both of the latter publications which are basic for celestial navigation. The *American Ephemeris* is a basic reference for astronomers and is essential in the accurate determination of time, which in turn is of extreme importance in civil navigation (including loran), and defense fields. In addition, accurate astronomical data are essential to the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey in the construction of charts and maps.

The IAU also provides information on total eclipses of the sun and other solar observations which serves as a basis for the prediction of future periods of poor radio communications. The IAU's standardization of scientific constants, which are important to many fields other than astronomy, is a valuable service since it is essential to international cooperation in scientific research that the same and most exact constants and standards be used.

#### Directing Council (PASO)

On September 10 the Department of State announced that the 6th session of the Directing Council of the Pan American Sanitary Organization (PASO) and 4th meeting of the Regional Committee of the World Health Organization for the Americas will be held at Habana, September 15-24. The United States delegation is as follows:

##### United States Representative

- Leonard A. Scheele, M.D., Surgeon General, Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

#### *Alternate Representatives*

Frederick J. Brady, M.D., Assistant Chief, International Organization Branch, Division of International Health, Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

Howard B. Calderwood, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State

#### *Advisers*

Wyman Stone, Director, Division of Health, Welfare, and Housing, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, Technical Cooperation Administration, Department of State

Simon N. Wilson, Office of Regional American Affairs, Department of State

Elton D. Woolpert, Assistant to Surgeon General, Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency

The 17th and 18th meetings of the Executive Committee of the Paso are also being held at Habana, September 10-12 and 25-26, respectively. The U.S. Government is represented at these meetings by the following delegation:

#### *Acting United States Representative*

Frederick J. Brady, M.D.

#### *Alternate Representative*

Howard B. Calderwood

#### *Adviser*

Simon N. Wilson

The purpose of the Pan American Sanitary Organization, organized in 1902 as the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, is the coordination of the public-health efforts of the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The Paso stimulates and promotes the expansion of national and local health services and the adoption of more effective public-health techniques. Technical advisory services are provided and programs, including the control of tuberculosis, venereal disease, yellow fever, malaria, and other insect-borne diseases, are being carried on to assist member governments in raising the level of health, thereby contributing to the improvement of the economic and social well-being of the people of the Americas.

The Directing Council, created in 1947, serves as the executive body of the Paso between quadrennial sessions of the Pan American Sanitary Conference, which is the Organization's Governing Body. It also serves as the Regional Committee of the World Health Organization for the Americas. The last annual meeting of the Directing Council was held at Washington, D. C., in September 1951. Washington is the permanent headquarters of the PASO.

The Executive Committee, composed of seven governments, presently including the United States, elected by the Directing Council, performs interim executive and advisory functions between meetings of the Council. The last meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Washington, D. C., October 3-4, 1951.

Among the most important items to be considered at the Habana meetings are the program and

budget of the Paso for 1953 and 1954, agenda items and arrangements for the 14th Pan American Sanitary Conference to be held in 1954, and proposed revisions of the constitution of the PASO.

#### **Conference of Statisticians (ECAFE)**

On September 2 the Department of State announced that a second Regional Conference of Statisticians convened under the auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), in collaboration with the U.N. Statistical Office, Technical Assistance Administration, and specialized agencies concerned, at Bangkok, for a 2-week session beginning September 1, 1952. The U.S. delegation to the Conference is as follows:

#### *U.S. Representative*

Y. S. Leong, Office of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget

#### *Advisers*

Joseph Cunningham, Vice Consul, American Embassy, Bangkok

Isom Deshotels, Assistant Agricultural Officer, American Embassy, Rangoon

Thomas F. Corcoran, TCA Consultant to the Government of Pakistan, American Embassy, Karachi

At the first Conference held at Rangoon in 1951, it was established that there exists a definite need for improvement in the method of collecting, compiling, and analyzing statistics relating to agricultural and industrial production and to national income. This branch of statistics, which has direct relation to the most pressing economic problems in the countries of the region, will be under consideration by the specialists at the forthcoming meeting, which is designed to afford the statistical experts of the ECAFE region an opportunity to discuss technical problems with a view to improving the methods of compilation of statistics now employed.

Agencies of governments represented at the Conference, the ECAFE Secretariat, the U.N. Statistical Office, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations have submitted papers for consideration at the Conference. Discussions will be focused upon production statistics and price statistics. Delegates will consider the practicability of developing manuals on industrial production statistics and wholesale price statistics. They will review papers on international standards for industrial statistics and wholesale price statistics, their application to ECAFE countries, and possible adjustments of such standards to regional conditions. Other papers to be presented survey the availability of factory production statistics, of statistics relating to cottage industries, and of wholesale price statistics in ECAFE countries and current methods in use for collecting and processing them. Attention will also be given to agricultural production and price statistics.

It is believed that a Conference of this character can contribute directly and usefully to the development and improvement of national statistical services in the ECAFE region. It is also considered that improvement in the quality and availability of statistical information on the topics included for discussion at the meeting is highly desirable in terms of objectives of important programs of a number of U.S. agencies, including the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, and the Technical Cooperation Administration of the Department of State. Administration of certain of these programs involves fairly urgent needs for current statistics of production and prices for countries in the ECAFE region.

Governments which are members of ECAFE are Australia, Burma, China, France, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Associate members are Cambodia, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaya and British Borneo, Nepal, and the State of Vietnam.

## **Scientific Committee for Trypanosomiasis**

Press release 719 dated September 11

Thomas A. Burch, Director of the Liberian Institute of the American Foundation for Tropical Medicine at Harbel, Liberia, has been designated as an official observer at the fourth session of the International Scientific Committee for Trypanosomiasis Research, scheduled to be held September 25-30 at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa).

The International Scientific Committee for Trypanosomiasis Research was organized in 1947 to coordinate measures for the control of trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) in Africa, Belgium, France, Portugal, Southern Rhodesia, the Sudan, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom are members of the Committee. While the United States is not a member, it has sent accredited official observers to previous sessions. Invitations to the fourth session, the meetings of which will be open only to accredited participants, have been extended not only to the U.S. Government but also to the Permanent Inter-African Bureau for Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis at Léopoldville and to the World Health Organization.

The economic and social development of the whole of Central Africa is to a large measure contingent upon the discovery of a method to control trypanosomiasis in domestic animals. The effects of this disease, which is carried by the tsetse fly, can be controlled in men but not, as yet, in animals. Therefore, until research can provide the tools to control the disease in domestic animals, this vast

expanse of 4½ million square miles in the world's second largest continent cannot be reclaimed and settled. Cooperation in trypanosomiasis research and control is part of the U.S. program of assistance to underdeveloped areas of the world.

Scientists of the United States have made substantial contributions to the knowledge of trypanosomiasis. Trypanosomes have been used in our medical-research laboratories since the turn of the century as test organisms in the development of therapeutic agents. In recent years, the National Institutes of Health have carried on research that has given scientists considerable insight into the mechanisms of resistance of animal trypanosomes to those drugs useful in treating the human disease. A number of American research scientists have made substantial contributions to the treatment of trypanosomiasis by carrying on field tests in Africa with drugs developed in their laboratories in the United States.

## **Communiqués Regarding Korea to the Security Council**

The Headquarters of the United Nations Command has transmitted communiqués regarding Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations under the following United Nations document numbers: S/2733, August 7; S/2734, August 11; S/2735, August 11; S/2738, August 12; S/2739, August 13; /S2740, August 14; S/2742, August 15; S/2743, August 18; S/2745, August 18; S/2747, August 20; S/2748, August 21; S/2749, August 22; S/2751, August 25; S/2752, August 26; S/2753, August 27; and S/2757, August 29.

## **Convention for Safety of Life at Sea**

Press release 721 dated September 11

On September 10 the President issued his proclamation on the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1948,<sup>1</sup> which was signed at London on June 10, 1948. The convention provides for improved standards for safety of life at sea in the fields of ship construction, fire protection, lifesaving appliances, radio equipment, dangerous cargoes, and navigation generally.

In accordance with its terms, the convention will enter into force on November 19, 1952. It will replace the convention of May 31, 1929, of the same character, as between parties to the 1929 convention who have also accepted the 1948 convention.

In addition to the United States, countries which have accepted the convention to date are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland,

<sup>1</sup> 17 Fed. Reg., 6034.

Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Sweden, the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and Yugoslavia.

## Current United Nations Documents: A Selected Bibliography<sup>1</sup>

### Economic and Social Council

**The Problem of Statelessness.** Information transmitted by States in pursuance of Economic and Social Council resolution 352 (XII) relating to the problem of statelessness. E/2164/Add. 23, August 1, 1952. 23 pp. mimeo.

**Implementation of Recommendations on Economic and Social Matters.** Economic and Social Council resolution 283 (X). Texts of replies from governments of Member States. E/2165/Add. 44, July 23, 1952. 9 pp. mimeo.

**Full Employment.** Implementation of full employment policies. Replies of governments to the full employment questionnaire covering the period 1951-52, submitted under resolutions 221 E (IX), 290 (XI) and 371 B (XIII) of the Economic and Social Council. E/2232/Add. 5, July 11, 1952. 79 pp. mimeo; E/2232/Add. 6, July 11, 1952. 46 pp. mimeo.

**Co-ordination of the Work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.** Report of the Co-ordination Committee. E/2306, July 25, 1952. 16 pp. mimeo.

**Calendar of Conferences for 1953.** E/2309, July 28, 1952. 9 pp. mimeo.

**Work Programmes and Costs of the Economic and Social Activities of the United Nations.** E/2315, July 29, 1952. 52 pp. mimeo; E/2315/Add. 1, August 4, 1952. 6 pp. mimeo.

**Calendar of Conferences for 1953 as approved by the Council at its 664th plenary meeting of 29 July 1952.** E/2316, August 6, 1952. 5 pp. mimeo.

**Resolutions Adopted by the Economic and Social Council During its Fourteenth Session From 20 May to 1 August 1952.** E/2331, August 6, 1952. 6 pp. mimeo.

### General Assembly

**Ad Hoc Committee on Factors (Non-Self-Governing Territories).** Replies of Governments Indicating Their Views on the Factors to be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Territory is or is not a Territory Whose People Have not yet Attained a Full Measure of Self-Government. A/AC.58/1, May 22, 1952. 24 pp. mimeo; A/AC.58/1/Add. 2, June 12, 1952. 11 pp. mimeo; and A/AC.58/1/Add. 3, July 16, 1952. 22 pp. mimeo.

<sup>1</sup> Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

The United Nations Secretariat has established an Official Records series for the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the Atomic Energy Commission, which includes summaries of proceedings, resolutions, and reports of the various commissions and committees. Information on securing subscriptions to the series may be obtained from the International Documents Service.

Replies of Governments Indicating Their Views on the Factors To Be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Territory Is or Is Not a Territory Whose People Have Not Yet Attained a Full Measure of Self-Government. Iraq (supplementary reply). A/AC.58/1/Add. 5, Aug. 20, 1952. 5 pp. mimeo.

**Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories:** Summary and Analysis of Information Transmitted Under Article 73 e of the Charter. Report of the Secretary-General. Australia, A/2128, July 30, 1952. 19 pp. mimeo; Denmark, A/2130, August 11, 1952. 16 pp. mimeo; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, A/2134, August 4, 1952. 191 pp. mimeo; United States of America, A/2135, June 4, 1952. 71 pp. mimeo.

Replies of Governments Indicating Their Views on the Factors To Be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Territory is or is not a Territory Whose People Have Not Yet Attained a Full Measure of Self-Government. A/AC.58/1/Add. 4, July 25, 1952. 13 pp. mimeo.

**Essential Factors To Be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory has Attained a Full Measure of Self-Government.** Working Paper Prepared by the Secretariat. A/AC.58/3, July 28, 1952. 9 pp. mimeo.

**Observations of Governments on Particular Factors To Be Taken Into Account in Deciding Whether a Non-Self-Governing Territory Has Attained a Full Measure of Self-Government.** Working Paper Prepared by the Secretariat. A/AC.58/4, July 31, 1952. 12 pp. mimeo.

**Examination of the Factors Indicative of the Free Association (Whether in a Federal or Unitary Relationship) of a Territory on Equal Status With Other Component Parts of the Metropolitan or Other Country.** Working Paper Prepared by the Secretariat. A/AC.58/5, August 6, 1952. 14 pp. mimeo.

**Peace Observation Commission. Balkans Sub-Commission.** Special report of the United Nations Military Observers in Greece. Letter dated 18 July 1952 from the Acting Principal Observer submitting a special report concerning a frontier incident occurring on 16 July 1952. A/CN.7/SC.1/17, July 23, 1952. 7 pp. mimeo; Letter dated 2 August 1952 from the Acting Principal Observer submitting a special report concerning a frontier incident occurring on 26 and 27 July 1952. A/CN.7/SC.1/29, August 11, 1952. 8 pp. mimeo.

### Trusteeship Council

**Standing Committee on Administrative Unions.** The Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council, 1950 and the Gold Coast (Constitution) (Amendment) Order in Council, 1952. T/C.1/L.30, July 22, 1952. 38 pp. The Nigeria (Constitution) Order in Council, 1951. T/C.1/L.31, July 22, 1952. 64 pp.

Ninth Session, 5 June to 30 July 1951. Disposition of Agenda Items. T/INF/22, April 7, 1952. 111 pp. mimeo.

**Draft Report of the Trusteeship Council to the General Assembly Covering its Fourth Special Session and its Tenth and Eleventh Sessions.** (18 December 1952 to . . . July 1952) Prepared by the Secretariat. T/L.307/Add. 1, July 24, 1952. 14 pp. mimeo.

**Report of the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions to the Trusteeship Council Concerning Council's Resolution 420 (X) on Administrative Unions.** T/1026, July 17, 1952. 156 pp. mimeo.

**Provision of Information to the Peoples of Trust Territories.** Report of the Secretary-General. T/1028, July 18, 1952. 13 pp. mimeo.

## Representative Appointed to Congress of African Tourism

Press release 729 dated September 12

Donald W. Lamm, American Consul at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, Africa, will represent the U.S. Government as an official observer at the fourth International Congress of African Tourism, to be held at Lourenço Marques from September 15 to 20, 1952.

The United States has an interest in Africa's present and future role in world affairs and in the development of travel as an economic and social benefit.

### THE DEPARTMENT

## "Courier" To Begin VOA Broadcasts

Press release 698 dated September 5

The U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Courier*, the Voice of America's first seagoing radio station, will begin relaying VOA broadcasts on a regular basis on September 7.

Anchored at the island of Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean, the floating relay base will carry a daily broadcast schedule of 5½ hours in nine languages over powerful medium-wave and short-wave transmitters.

Programs in four languages—Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijani, and Tatar—will be beamed to listeners in the Soviet Union, and in five languages—Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, Arabic, and English—to the Near and Middle East. Inauguration of the *Courier* relay will mark the first time that VOA broadcasts in the four Soviet minority languages have been transmitted on medium wave.

For the last 2 weeks, the *Courier*'s 150,000-watt medium-wave transmitter and two 35,000-watt short-wave transmitters have been undergoing intensive tests. Reports indicate wide coverage for the broadcast signals and promise an increase in the Voice of America's penetration of the electronic curtain erected by Soviet jamming stations.

En route to Rhodes, the Coast Guard vessel paid good-will visits to Tangier, Gibraltar, Naples, and Piraeus. The *Courier* will operate at Rhodes under a site and frequency agreement between the Governments of Greece and the United States.

### The U. S. in the U. N.

A weekly feature, does not appear in this issue.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

**Military Aviation Mission.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2395. Pub. 4543. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Peru extending and modifying agreement of Oct. 7, 1946—Signed at Washington Sept. 29 and Oct. 31, 1950; entered into force Oct. 31, 1950.

**Passport Visa Fees.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2398. Pub. 4550. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Pakistan—Signed at Karachi Oct. 10 and 18, 1949; entered into force Oct. 18, 1949.

**Export Controls and Free World Security.** Commercial Policy Series 143. Pub. 4626. 7 pp. 5¢.

A background summary explaining how cooperation has developed voluntarily and has been worked out regarding the extent and level of security export controls.

**Health and Sanitation, Cooperative Program in Colombia, Additional Financial Contributions.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2400. Pub. 4560. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Colombia—Signed at Bogotá Sept. 5 and Nov. 30, 1951; entered into force Nov. 30, 1951.

**Economic Cooperation With Turkey Under Public Law 472, 80th Congress, as Amended.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2392. Pub. 4527. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Turkey amending agreement of July 4, 1948, as amended—Signed at Ankara Aug. 16, 1951; entered into force Aug. 16, 1951.

**Civil Aviation Mission to Peru.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2396. Pub. 4547. 10 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Peru—Signed at Lima Dec. 27, 1946; entered into force Dec. 27, 1946, and amendment signed at Lima Aug. 28 and Nov. 11, 1947; entered into force Nov. 11, 1947.

**Civil Aviation, Use of Payne Field.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2397. Pub. 4548. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Egypt—Signed at Cairo June 15, 1946; entered into force June 15, 1946.

**Technical Cooperation Program.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2470. Pub. 4593. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and India—Signed at New Delhi Jan. 5, 1952; entered into force Jan. 5, 1952.

**Economic Cooperation.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2463. Pub. 4598. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Italy—Signed at Rome Dec. 28, 1951; entered into force Dec. 28, 1951.

**Iran: Point of World Interest.** Near and Middle Eastern Series 6. Pub. 4628. 8 pp. 5¢.

A background summary presenting a brief résumé of Iran and the forces which give her such a prominent place in international affairs.

**UNESCO in Latin America.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 16. Pub. 4644. 6 pp. 5¢.

A progress report printed at the request of Member States relating major activities affecting Latin American countries.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 20. Pub. 3381. 6 pp. 5¢.

Second revised reprint of the Declaration approved by the General Assembly at its plenary meeting on Dec. 10, 1948.

**Exchange of Official Publications.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2402. Pub. 4564. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Brazil amending agreement of June 15 and 24, 1940—Dated at Rio de Janeiro May 16 and 23, 1950; entered into force May 23, 1950.

**UNESCO in the Middle East.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 19. 8 pp. 5¢.

A progress report printed at the request of Member States relating major activities affecting the Middle East.

**Agriculture, Cooperative Program in Honduras, Additional Financial Contributions.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2428. Pub. 4580. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Honduras—Signed at Tegucigalpa Jan. 9 and 16, 1952; entered into force Jan. 16, 1952.

**Copyright.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2429. Pub. 4581. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Denmark—Signed at Washington Feb. 4, 1952; entered into force Feb. 4, 1952.

**Yugoslavia: Titoism and U.S. Foreign Policy.** European and British Commonwealth Series 35. Pub. 4624. 8 pp. 5¢.

A background summary outlining the policies followed by the U.S. Government since the Yugoslav break from the Soviet orbit. The development of these policies as related to the background of the forces and events which led up to the present situation in Yugoslavia.

**Organizing a UNESCO Council.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 18. Pub. 4646. 7 pp. 10¢.

A pamphlet explaining the idea of state and local UNESCO organizations.

**Education, Cooperative Program in Paraguay, Additional Financial Contributions.** Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2451. Pub. 4597. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Paraguay—Signed at Asunción Sept. 10 and Nov. 29, 1951; entered into force Nov. 29, 1951.

**The UNESCO Constitution and Basic Law.** International Organization and Conference Series IV, UNESCO 17. Pub. 4645. 21 pp. 15¢.

Constitution, Public Law 565, and roster of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

**United Nations—60 Countries Pledged To Act.** International Organization and Conference Series III, 81. Pub. 4612. 10 pp. 5¢.

A pamphlet describing the functions of its specialized agencies.

**Turkey: Frontier of Freedom.** Near and Middle Eastern Series 7. Pub. 4633. 12 pp. 10¢.

A background summary showing that Turkey has become a substantial "eastmost bastion of Western freedom."

## Check List of Department of State Press Releases: Sept. 8-13, 1952

Releases may be obtained from the office of the Special Assistant for Press Relations, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Press releases issued prior to Sept. 8 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 684 of Sept. 2, 685 of Sept. 2, 694 of Sept. 4, 695 of Sept. 4, 698 of Sept. 5, and 699 of Sept. 5.

No.	Date	Subject
702	9/8	Allison: Anniversary Japanese conf.
703	9/8	Chemical industries (Ilo)
704	9/8	Restrictive business practices
*705	9/8	Exchange of persons
706	9/8	World meteorological organization
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